hase

Washington. Feb. 13th 1854.

My dear Sir,

Thanks for your kind letter. It does me good. Praise from the sincere who are also of the noble and true coworkers for Humanity is very grateful.

I shall be very glad to see you afterward There is hope that we may get floor the rascals.

By the way your discourse on Webster reached me but was forthwith abstracted by somebody to whom I hope it did good. Can you lend me another copy?

Seward and Sumner will quit themselves like men - and I have got a battery of small guns to fire.

Yours cordially

S. P. Chase.

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Chase

Washington. Feb. 14th 1854.

My dear Sir.

I believe that in my note yesterday I said nothing about the maps you asked for. There are none published by Government, acceptible and of any value that I know of. Any large map of the United States and even Mitchell in his large Atlas will shew every thing, with the help of my speech.

Yours truly,

S. P. Chase

Washington, March 12. 1854.

My dear Sir.

Your Sermon on the Nebraska Question reached me this morning and I have read it with the greatest interest. It is a noble discourse, going to the root of more matters than one. Its lofty sentiments inspire me with fresh determination to maintain the right; while my hope feeds on the anticipation that from many hearts must come the responsive echoes of such an utterance.

Shall I not say to you frankly, however, how much I regret that on the

great question of the Divine Origin of the Bible and the Divine Nature of Christ your views are so little in harmony with those of almost all who labor with you in the great cause of Human Enfranchisement and Progress, and that I could not help wishing that, in this sermon, your distinctive opinions had not been brought forward? I do not profess myself to accept the teachings of those who say there is nothing in the canonical books not divinely inspired, or every statement respecting the Nature and Offices of Christ which Unitarians put forth: but upon the whole, I regard myself as Orthodox in the ordinary Sense of that word: and of course, some of your expressions grate harshly on my ears.

Far from me, however, is the wish to trammel your conscientious utterance of your own convictions: and I know you will trust my assurance that in my heart of hearts, I honor you for your bold and manful defence of Justice, Truth and Right against Oppression, Falsehood and Wrong.

Do you think you give quite prominence enough to the organized efforts against Slavery in your estimate of the grounds of hope? The Independent Democracy, it seems to me, has already done much. It has sent some true men to Congress: more to State Legislatures: placed some Judges—

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Chase

witness Woodly of Cincinnati who pronounced the Fugitive Slave act unconstitutional - on the Bench. It has forced an entrance for its great leading idea of denationalizing Slavery - which all ~~[illegible]~~ must be speedily followed by entire abolition - into the public mind. to some extent even in the South. Southern men have stated it not unfrequently of late clearly and only yesterday the Union contained an elaborate and highly commended communication in which the Doctrine was stated with precision as that of a large body of citizens of the North represented by Messrs Chase and Sumner. Why not urge the Liberals of all parties to join the Independent Democrats in arranging a genuine Democracy which will not merely recognize the doctrine of Majorities, but will insist that even Majorities can only use political power for the maintenance and not for the destruction of inalienable rights.

I should arrange the order of Slaveholding encroachments a little differently from yours. I class them as of two orders Constitutional and Unconstitutional. In the first Class I place the admission of new Slave States, not contemplated at the adoption of the Constitution, but not forbidden by that instrument. In the second class I place 1. the reenactment of the Slave laws of Virginia and Maryland for the District

ase 2. The acceptance of the Union of North Carolina with the clause protecting Slavery. 3. the acceptance of the Georgia Union with the same clause. 4. The Fugitive Slave act of 1793. 5. The act licencing the coastwise Slave trade. 6. The organization of the Territorial Government for the Territory ~~for the Territory~~ acquired from France with allowance of Slavery. 7. The Missouri Compromise so far as it extended the Fugitive Slave Act into the Territories, or virtually pledged the nation to the allowance of Slavery South of 36.30. 8. The continuance of Slavery in Florida 9. The Compromise Acts so called of 1850. You see I have not quite observed the Chronological order, and have omitted somethings.

There seems to be some wavering here: but the probability is I think that the Iniquity will be consummated unless the election of New Hampshire should prove decision against the Bill.

I learn that we are to have to-morrow a message against Spain in relation to Cuba. Recent occurrences there have greatly excited the Administration; and we may be on the eve of great events.

How strange that the impulse of war - of freedom - of reaction should be felt all over the globe at the same time - 1848 - 1850-2 1854.

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Chase

Yours faithfully

S. P. Chase.

Thank you for your kind reference to me at N. Y. which I have from a friend. It was suppressed I learn in the "Times" report.

I send you a copy of a new Edition of my speech. It is printed also in German and in many papers.

Washington. April 5. 1854.

My very dear Sir.

Your kind letter gave me a great deal of pleasure. Most earnestly do I wish that I were able to do the work which your more than kind estimate would judge me qualified for. But my consciousness tells me that you overrate me greatly. I am only fit to do common work that lies right before me from day to day; and, in truth, I have no aspiration to do any other. I never could fancy myself a great man or ever realize that I occupied a great position; and I suppose both these ideas necessary to great achievement, especially political achievement.

I wish we thought more alike on some things; but it is not for me to argue

hase with you. Let me rather rejoice that on the great questions of practical duty concerning the progress and elevation of our race we are so much at one.

There is reason to hope that the Nebraska iniquity sleeps the sleep that knows no waking, and that the Speeches now being delivered concerning it in the House may be classed as Obituary Notices. If it be dead or rather when agreed that it is dead, I shall rejoice that the first Stone cast at the monster went from my Sling. Let not the people however be over-confident. They should still pour in their Memorials, and especially the resolutions of their Public Meetings. The New Hampshire and Connecticut Elections are memorials which some politicians will be likely to hold in lasting remembrance.

With many thanks to you, dear Sir, for your well-timed blow at the Great Iniquity and for your every other Service to the noble Cause of Freedom and Progress.

I remain
Most Cordially
Your friend
S. P. Chase.

Columbus, Ohio June 23. 1856.

My dear Sir:

I have been reading your "New Lesson for the Day", sent me I

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suppose by your kindness, and feel moved to write you and thank you for this and renew my thanks for your former utterances in behalf of Human Liberty. The Time is sharp and thorny but we will pluck Freedom out of it. I know not how it is, but I have never felt in the least inclined to despair of the Republic: and now I feel sure that out of the Storm and danger of the present will emerge the peace and safety of Liberty guarded by Law. Sumner's grievous wrong will do more to open men's eyes to the true character of the men that Slavery makes than ten thousand Speeches however eloquent in utterance or perfect in argument.

And the Outrages perpetrated in Kansas will expose the thorough recklessness in Selection of means with which the Slave Power seeks its ends. The People wake up slowly - but they will awake, and then woe to Tyrants and their abettors wheresoever.

Sincerely Yours.
S. P. Chase.

Columbus July 17. 1856.

Private

My dear Sir

You have laid me under additional obligations to you by sending me

hase "The Great Battle". It is a fit characterization of the struggle in which you have dealt so many and so manful blows on the right side.

But I have somewhat to complain of in your first speech. You say on the supposition that the Slaves were white: "Do you believe Gov. Chase would have said "No Slavery outside of Slave States; but inside of Slave States just as much enslavement of Anglo-Saxon men as you please?"

My first objection to this is the apparent assertion that I have said: "inside of Slave States just as much enslavement as you please." I never said that for I never thought it. There is no spot on earth in which I would sanction Slavery. Indeed I do not suppose you think there is, but your sentence is so constructed as to convey an idea which was not in your mind.

My other objection to it is its intimation that my constitutional views on the Slavery question are determined by considerations of the color or origin of the Enslaved. God forbid! If every Slave in the South were bleached to-morrow if every drop of African blood could be by miracle converted into purest Anglo-Saxon - the Constitutional power of the General Government on Slavery in the States would be no whit enlarged. If the National Government has not the power to abolish the Slavery of the black man in the Slave

Chase

States, it certainly would have no power to abolish the Slavery of the white man. Indeed not a few white men to all practical intents and purposes, and some probably of pure Circasian blood are now Slaves in the Slave States.

I adopt your motto very cheerfully and heartily: "No Slavery any where in America". No Slavery any where on earth The latter is you say the "topmost" idea. The first then is not topmost. My Sentence "No Slavery outside of Slave States," also is not topmost. But it is, to an ambitious man, anxious to get to the top, quite as important. It is fundamental. It is the first in the series. The General Government has power to prohibit Slavery every where outside of Slave States. A great majority of the People now accept this idea. Comparatively few adopt the suggestion that Congress can legislate abolition within Slave States. That proposition, most who have studied our Institutions, regard as including the doctrine of Consolidation and Subversion of State Sovereignties, and other Consequences dangerous to the rights of the people and tending to bring in despotism. I say then - take the conceded proposition and make it practical Make it a living active reality. Then you have taken a great Step. Slavery is denationalized

hase

The Faith and Practice of the National Government is on the side of Freedom. Then encouraged by National Example, by the Sympathies, cheering words and liberal aid of good men and patriots, let the men of the Slave States organize for the enfranchisement of their own Communities. By and by, and not far off, you will come to the second idea "No Slavery in America". Then let the moral influence and wide action of the Nation, wholly enfranchised, be made active on the side of Universal Freedom. And, by and by, the third grand thought becomes a divine reality;- "No Slavery anywhere on Earth", which day may God and men of a divine Spirit speed.

I write in great haste, but you get my ideas. I do not pretend to be a very wise or Expert Statesman or any thing of that sort: but a lowly trained practical man who wishes to <u>do</u> Something for Truth, Justice and Human Progress: and who would prefer that what little he does or says should be so spoken of, that nothing in his example of word or deed shall even seem to contribute to the upholding of Wrong.

Very cordially your friend

S. P. Chase.

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Chase

State of Ohio
Executive Department

Columbus. March 3. 1838.

My dear Sir.

National niggardliness in postal matters does not allow me to know whether I am indebted to you or not for the Copy of the Anti-Slavery Standard containing your late Speech in the Hall of Representatives of Massachusetts. I was glad to get it: for it was a fitting word for the hour-glad on another account: for I always like to read your distinct and — shall I write it? — heroic utterances. I can pardon you very easily for disposing of the Republican Governors so cavalierly; for what the Governors of States say now a days, when all eyes are turned Washingtonward cannot expect much attention: and yet I flatter myself I stated the true before the County in my last Message pretty distinctly and substantially very much as you would state them. I believe I sent you a copy: but it will do no harm to send you another.

The future to me looks very hopeful. The Devil certainly has come down in great wrath these last few years, but he

hase

knows that his time is short. He has achieved many conspicuous triumphs, and perhaps may achieve more: but these even weaken him because they reveal his nature. He is coming down soon. I hope in 1860. Then when we have the power it will be easy to turn all currents, even that Acheronthan one of the Judiciary, into Channels of Freedom.

Very truly yours.
S. P. Chase.

Columbus. March 25. 1858.

My dear Sir.

It seems to me certain that I answered your note of the 9th not only by sending you a second copy of my Message (you were one of the very first to whom any copies were directed) but also by a few written words. Am I mistaken? Your note I find among my unanswered letters and that makes me doubt my certainty.

At all events it was a great gratification to hear from you. It would be a greater to see you. You hang surrounded by others of like faith in freedom in my dining room and you lie in somewhat worse company on my table in the Executive Chamber for Buchanan and Gardner are there

too — not to be saved even by the salt of your introductory apociation. But I would rather see you neither hanging nor lying, but living, speaking, moving.

Why can't you come West? Other lights than the Star of Empire should take their way westward.

As to getting rid of Slavery, it will be accomplished when the mind of the Nation is penetrated by such thoughts as your writings inspire. There must be a new birth and a new baptism of the American Nation in the faith of Man's Manhood before it will be thoroughly accomplished.

I work in the political field. It is mine because God seems to have better fitted me for it than for any other. It seems to me I can do some good in it. But after all what is our political work but the growth into substantial form of the great ideas which higher thinkers put forth, and the preparation for larger like growths. I want to see the National Government divorced from Slavery and its influence put on the side of Freedom. This seems to me a possible practical work. Once accomplished the doom of Slavery is sealed. Its final extinction is certain. The regeneration of the

hase

Nation inevitable, and a future how grand and inspiring, opened. What hope for the Nation - for man then!

But I have no time for much writing to-day. I am grateful for all you can do of personal kindness and reciprocate fully every sentiment of friendly regard and remain

Cordially yours.

S. P. Chase.

There was a Christian Anti. Slavery meeting last year in Boston in Anniversary week and there is to be another this year. I am urged to speak, and I should like to do so if I could, and could find the time. What do you think of it?

Newport. R. I. Aug 16. 1858.

My dear Sir.

To fail to see you was to lose one of the principal gratifications I promised myself in New England. After you closed your Sermon I paused awhile thinking to wait for you: but the situation amid a retreating crowd was an awkward one, and I retired confidently expecting to call in the evening.

Gov. Banks came in and dispelled this idea by saying that he had just met you going into the country. So there was an end. I went back to Boston not long - say two weeks - after and you were absent still. Your note which I received at Concord had previously appriz̄ed me of you elsewhere and so this time, I was not disappointed.

My visit to New England was a very pleasant one. Much has gratified me. Cordial welcomes, earnest sympathies noble men, noble women too, glorious scenery, grand industries have spoken eloquently to eyes, ears and heart. My inmost sentiments say God bless and guard New England! I shall go back to my own great adopted State with new aspirations not for place I hope but for achievement. How much I should like to do! How little I can do!

Take, my dear Sir, these words of farewell, assure yourself of my sincere gratitude for all your appreciation of what I have poorly attempted rather than fitly done, and of my earnest purpose to deserve by effort if not by accomplishment something of the good-will which has been so liberally manifested towards me

I shall be ever very glad to hear

hase from you.

Sincerely your friend.
S. P. Chase.

Columbus, January 13. 1859.

My dear Sir.

I read in a Boston paper to-day your note to your Congregation with deep sorrow. Most earnestly do I hope your illness is but temporary. The report of the paper that your physicians have ordered you to the West Indies has prompted this hurried note, that the assurance of my truest sympathy and earnest prayers for your restoration speedily to your people and all of us who labor for human advancement may reach you before you sail, if possible.

Most truly yours.

S. P. Chase.

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Birney J. G.

Lower Saginaw, Michigan, March 2
1848.

Dear Sir.

I have read, I need hardly say with how much pleasure, your Sermon on the memory of Mr Adams, as it appeared in my friend Wright's Chronotype. After wading through the dull historical details and the Sophomorical effusions which Mr Adams's death gave rise to in Congress, your remarks are doubly refreshing. They must be greatly instructive too, to a mind intent on instruction. But they especially commend themselves to me, as the first honest attempt to benefit the living by a public impartial account of the dead.

But this note is not written with the intention of commending an effort, which doubtless has been commended by those who are not Strangers to you, and who are known to be competent judges, but of communicating a fact in Mr Adams's public life, which, from its important and influential nature, particularly as connected with Mr Adams's subsequent course, I must suppose you were uninformed about. It is unnecessary to say to you, that it is mentioned, not through any hostility to the memory of Mr Adams — though I am free to own,

Jersey

that it is only when he is compared with other public men, now on the theatre of action, and whose lives are well known to me, that I estimate him as highly as you do — but that his life may be more really useful by being more accurately known, and that a regard for Truth above all other regards may be made still more signal.

During the administration of Mr Adams, his Secretary of State, Mr Clay, made a Treaty with the Minister of Mexico for the re delivery of fugitive Slaves, who might seek refuge in the territory of that republic; but as this treaty was not subsequently ratified by the Mexican Congress — whose present national degradation may, in part, be owing to their magnanimity on this occasion — it was not obligatory on either government. Mr Clay also urged on Mr Gallatin, our minister to England, to obtain a similar Treaty from that power. But not content with urging it once on Mr Gallatin, he urged it a second time, telling him of his success with Mexico, (whose refusal to ratify the treaty, I suppose, did not once occur to him) and advising him that he might use this fact as a persuasive to the English cabinet. Mr Gallatin of course, did not obtain such a treaty — being told it was "impossible". He was succeeded by Gov. Barbour a Slaveholding Virginian, on whom Mr Clay again prefsed the subject; but he was denied once more by the British minister, and in as strong terms

as the prevailing diplomacy allows. Mr Clay is going out of Office, together with Mr Adams. a Short time after this, was in all likelihood the reason why the matter was abandoned.

Of all these transactions, public too as they must have been with regard to Mr Adams, he cannot be presumed to have been ignorant. Especially, is this plea altogether untenable, when Mr Adams's business habits are well known to us. Whilst Mr Clay is not all relieved, Mr Adams must be held responsible for these transactions allowed by him.

If I should give a reason, why Mr Adams furnished this exception "to the general rule of his life", I should say, that he suffered himself to be flattered and wheedled by Mr Clay into the belief, that one great Object of a first Presidential term is to secure a second, and that the Slavery measures were necessary to it. This motive is the only one I can give at all adequate to the seduction of Mr Adams into these measures for I do not once apprehend that they originated with him, or that they were intended for his Sole advantage. The unavailing effect of these compliances to the Slaveholders made by Mr Adams against what he must have known, in his more reflective moments, to be right, seems to have been blessed to him - for, unless I greatly err, his opposition to Slavery

Birney

and Slaveholders, since his defeat by Gen Jackson, has been much more remarkable than it was before. What makes Mr Adams's conduct, with regard to the Slavery-measures still more remarkable, is, that he never became a member of the Colonization Society.

He never made the slightest public apology or explanation of the above "exception to the general rule of his life" - not even saying that he was wider to-day than he was yesterday. He never, that I know of, acknowledged a political error or indeed an error of any kind, seeming to consider confession, more than error itself, as evidence of weakness. But the discussion of this subject would lead me beyond my prescribed limits.

In the Emancipator of the 18. Sept. 1834, is an article entitled: "Headlands in the life of Henry Clay." In this article you may find the matter in hand, besides many more interesting notes regarding the Slavery-question, whilst Mr Clay was Secretary of State under Mr Adams, given more in detail. The authorities too are generally given, but in the substantial truth of all the facts set forth by the writer I have the fullest reliance.

This communication is sent to you not for publication, but because I believe you set truth above every thing else - that by it you try the conduct of every man - it by the

conduct of no man, and by one who subscribes himself your brother.

James G. Birney.

Lower Saginaw, Michigan, June 19. 1836.

Dear Sir,

Your very welcome letter of April 25. in reply to mine reached me on the 9. of last month. It would have been answered by the next mail, had I been able to command the time to do so. Labor - I mean regular labor - is at all times scarce with us. There is much to be done and few to do it. For the last six or eight weeks it could not be had for love or money. Besides, the man who stays with me! a Roman Catholic, very obligingly consented to postpone his usual annual visit to Detroit - on matters of his religion. I believe - till the 1. June. when we supposed my planting &c. would be done. In this emergency, I turned out, and instead of laboring but part of the day, as is my custom, I labored all the time. And at night I felt so tired that I generally went to bed soon after it set in. Owing to this I have read but little, and my writing, till now, has been confined

Pirney

to the most imperative letters on busines- which for a long time with me have not been very numerous.

I have never seen the Treaty for the delivery of fugitive Slaves, with Mexico- but I cannot say that I entertain any doubt of its existence. The letters of Mr Clay to Mr Gallatin, referring to such a treaty no doubt can be seen. That such a Treaty was made has never been denied, that I know of, by Mr Adams or Mr Clay, or by any of their friends- though the making of it has been openly charged. It is referred to by Judge Jay, and his facts are generally correctly cited on page 62 of the view of the Action of the Federal Govrnment &c. 2nd edition. The treaty was probably confined to one point- was popular in Congress- and no member of that body was "fanatical" enough to call for it. I have no doubt, that the treaty can be found in the State Department at Washington.

I have read Mr Everetts eulogy on Mr Adams, as reported in the Chronotype though another edition, I see, has been printed. It is, indeed, a eulogy- not an examination. I see not of what use it can be. Indeed it is calculated to mislead, as it gives altogether a one-sided view of the character of Mr Adams. Perhaps they resemble each other in one respect- in the

Birney

assiduous improvement of good faculties, though Mr Adams' were in my opinion, the least.

Within the last two weeks I have received the Massachusetts Review, in which your oration is published. I read it carefully in this, and as good as I regarded it before in the Chronotype, I found it much improved. I have also to thank you for a Single copy of it, received by the last mail.

Recurring to a passage in your letter, - the impression is made on me, that Mr Adams shortly before his death changed his views as to Abolition in the District of Columbia. It is strange he should at any time, have entertained different notions from the last he is supposed to have entertained on this Subject: Strange that he should have once thought a Constitution to be anything more before God than an expression of Sentiment by those who make it. As useful as a constitution may be among men, it is nothing more than a common act of legislation before God. He must have been blinded by his reverence for the Constitution not recollecting that no constitution can be good for anything, in so far as it enslaves even one out of millions.

Do you know any young or middle-aged man - married to a well

Pinney

educated and accomplished female - who could visit this place this Summer or Autumn with a view to remain here, and teach and preach for the present - and finally preach altogether? This is one of the most fertile, if not the most fertile country in the State, and it is now beginning to be settled rapidly enough, and to attract general attention. There are already in it a Lutheran German establishment, consisting probably of two hundred, and many more are expected. Common lumber here is about six dollars a thousand - clear, twice that sum or a little more. I have a daughter thirteen years old and my youngest son of six; - both if I judge correctly of good minds. I should like to have them well-educated at home, for I have not a favorable opinion of education abroad. Perhaps some inducements by way of property here - not saleable now for cash, for all the cash is employed in more active business - might be held out to a proper man. I should like a person or persons of merely religion Cant I would not encourage. My investigations and those on religious subjects are the most interesting to me - have led me to see the error of the Trinitarian belief - and I wish my children brought up to look on Truth, where ever it may lead them, as by far the most important concern of life.

I shall be pleased to hear from you, about the person mentioned, when you have leisure for it. Any thing that you publish and think proper to send me I shall gladly receive and read.

With my best wishes for your welfare,

I remain

Very respectfully Yours.

James G. Birney.

Bond Saginaw, Michigan July 5. 1840

My dear Sir.

Your letter of June 17th making some enquiries relating to General Jackson's connection with the Slave trade, was received last evening. By the same mail I also received the number of the Boston Post which contains the letter of S. D. Bradford to you, together with the several letters to that gentleman from his Slaveholding correspondents, referring to the same matter. Your pamphlet on Slavery, which you were kind enough to send me, I did not receive. I therefore read only so much of your letter, as was prefixed to the people of the United States as was republished in one of the newspapers for which I had not then ceased being a subscriber. The expression about Gen. Jackson did not

Birney

appear in the part I read - but it is so distinctly referred to by yourself and by Mr Bradford as well as by some of his correspondents that I have it doubtless in the form in which it first appeared. The English work mentioned by you I have not seen.

It is a difficult matter for a person who has not resided in the Slaveholding States, or who has not a pretty good knowledge of the Structure of Southern Society, to come precisely at what is meant there by slave-dealer or slave-trader. Now between even these two words there is a discernible difference - slave-dealer not meaning so fully as the more obnoxious word, slave-trader, that a man has no other business by which he makes his living than buying up slaves to sell again. If one who has a calling deemed reputable - as, for instance, a merchant, a mechanic, a lawyer, a planter or a doctor - sell a slave, or slaves, or even a family of slaves, whether to a neighbor, or slave-trader, or trafficker, as Mr Lewis has it, (because, as is most generally alleged, from having some fault, they do not suit him) but occasionally - every now and then - and for the highest price that he can get, he is not called a slave-trader. It is because he has another occupation by which he may be described — an occupation which is really primary, or which is so managed that it should seem so - his slave-dealing being but subordinate or secondary.

But if he buy up Slaves to sell again; or if he take them away to dispose of them in another market. or if he make gain by selling their bodies, having no other occupation he is called a Slave-trader. Thus a man pursuing a reputable calling may, for years, or even for his lifetime, sell and buy many Slaves, and not be called a Slave-trader; he will not probably be called a Slave-dealer, but rather, that he buys and sells a good many negroes. Slave trader is certainly a word of no small reproach at the South.

My meaning may perhaps be more fully conveyed, by taking gambling as an instance. Any one following a respectable calling, as mentioned in the foregoing paragraph, may gamble at all manner of games, and yet not be called a gambler. The nearest approach that I have known to it, in such cases is, that he is called a gentleman gambler. But if he gamble much around him, and go from home - for instance to races, or to large collections of people, where playing at hazard is part of the entertainment - and gamble there for a livelihood, or for gain, he is denominated a gambler; and if he belongs to the ragamuffin class, by the still more odious appellation of blackleg. Mr C. for example, though eminent in his profession and attentive to its calls, was a

Parsons

greater part of his life notorious for his constancy and success at play - but he was never to my knowledge called a gambler, or blackleg, except by his political opponents, when they wished to give him an odious name, founded on an undeniable charge. But the line between a gentleman - gambler, and a gambler and blackleg, is often very indistinct. So is it between an occasional buyer or seller of slaves, and a slave-trader or trafficker.

General Jackson, for the last thirty years of his life and perhaps always, for I never heard anything to the contrary, was exemplary, if not close, in the management of his private affairs. He lived seventy-eight years. As no person of influence at the South is not a slaveholder, or connected with slaveholding families, Gen. Jackson, probably, became a slaveholder by the time he was twenty eight years of age. If he became one so soon, he was for fifty years a slaveholder. If, now, his slaves were well treated at all times, and well attended to in sickness - a thing I am not about to dispute, for I have no certain knowledge about it - and if he never "sold any", as both his adopted Son and Mr Lewis say in their letters, the number of his slaves would have been incomparably greater at his death than even the number that he actually had. To this is to be added the slaves that General Jackson "occasionally bought for the use of his own estate" - as stated by

by both the witnesses above mentioned. Now the large planters buy Slaves for their labor, not to sell them again: of course, it is not to be looked for, that they would make a business of selling them. But I never knew a planter who resided in the South, and who held a large number of Slaves, for even one half the period that I suppose, General Jackson to have been a Slaveholder, who did not, from one cause or another, sell or exchange or dispose of some of them. General Jackson may have given many away, and thus kept down his number; or his case it is possible, may form an exception on this point. he may never have "sold"; but if he never did for fifty years — about which, I am free to say, I am altogether incredulous, relying more on my own calculations about the increase if he "sold none" and the commonness of Sales, even by Slaveholders called humane and benevolent — his is the only exception I know. These Sales were so common as often to be unobserved and of course, unknown even by neat neighbors.

At the Land Sales in Huntsville, Alabama, in 1818 I think, a Section (640 acres) on or near Cypress creek, below the Muscle Shoals was to be offered. The tract was considered a good one, and would, under ordinary circumstances, have been bid off at twelve or fifteen dollars an acre or even more, for land

Forney

in that country was then very high; but on its being proclaimed, by Judge Overton, if I remember right, that General Jackson wished to purchase that particular tract, to establish a plantation on it, not a single bid was made by any of the numerous bystanders in opposition to his, and he got it at two dollars, then the minimum Government price; on all but one fourth of which there was a long credit. He did establish a plantation on it, entrusting the requisite number of his Slaves, who, according to the account of Mr A. Jackson, his adopted Son, "loved him like children and [who] were treated as such," to an overseer, more than one hundred miles from his home in Tennessee. This plantation, Mr James Jackson, then his near friend and who resided a few miles from it, I know, afterwards, by the General's authority I suppose, offered for sale; and I am strongly impressed with the belief, that he opened at least one, that he especially desired should purchase it, that he could buy also if he chose the Slaves with it. He did not sell the plantation or the Slaves then, and what became of them ultimately, I know not. *

* I heard at that time, & I think it was never denied in any way, but universally believed, that the Overseer of the Cypress place whether he was the same that was originally put there or another, I do not now remember that I enquired — gave General Jackson some cause of offence, for which he was soundly cowhided or horsewhipped by the Gen.

Birney

With regard to the case of General Jackson and Mr Dinsmore, it was told to me so long ago, that I have forgotten, if it was mentioned, how the General got possesion of the Slaves that he had at the Agency, or whether he was going with them from the Lower Country to the neighborhood of Nashville or from the latter place below, to sell them. The impression that I had, previously to seeing the letters of Mr Bradford's Correspondents, was that he was on his way South, to make sale of them. But on seeing them I was certain, that I was wrong, for his particular friends, who have examined the matter lately, must have information about it more to be relied on, than a vague impression, made many years ago, and which may have been erroneously given or erroneously received. But the circumstances of the case that I well remember are somewhat different from the manner in which they are presented by Mr Bradford's Correspondents. The Choctaw Agency, as it was called forty years ago, was beyond the white Settlements, and surrounded entirely by tribes of Indians, the chief of whom were the Choctaws. The road or path which led by it, from the crossing-place on the Tennessee river, at the

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Although this mode of punishment was greatly degrading to a white man, he commands but little of our sympathy, inasmuch as he got a taste of what probably, he made the Slaves feel very often. Gen. J. had always a very resolute way of dealing with his Slaves of whatever complexion When the above took place I lived in Huntsville about 90. miles from the Scene of action

Pirney

bottom of the Shoals to the neighborhood of Natchez was called the Choctaw trace. To pass along it alone was considered dangerous — especially if the traveller was supposed to have much money, a thing of frequent occurrence from the sale of the flat boat cargoes at Natchez and New Orleans. Mr Silas Dinsmoor was placed there by the Government as Indian Agent. It was his custom, probably directed to do so, to take from all men, particularly white men, passing the Agency, a registration of their names, their object &c. &c. If satisfied on these points, he gave them passports, which prevented all Indian wrong and depredation, to which otherwise they were exposed. What renders it more probable that he was required to do this by the Government is the fact, that Aaron Burr had been tried and acquitted not very long before — that General Jackson, whether truly or not, was supposed to have been deeply concerned with him — that the Lower country was considered to be the point of attack, and the route by the Agency the only practicable one by land, from the Western Country to the country below. It should be recollected, too, that it was about this time, that the people at Baton Rouge had revolted from the Spanish government, which had till then possession of the country west of the Perdido, and that Mr Madison, greatly straitened what to do, had taken possession of it and added it to one of our

Penney

Territories - and that the Government fearful of all Strangers was anxious to know every one's business for being in so out of the way a place. In this condition of things General Jackson arrived at the Agency with a large and unusual body of Slaves. Well might Mr Dinsmore be surprised at the number thus congregated under a leader so resolute, if not desperate as Gen. Jackson was then supposed by many to be, and insist on the usual proof of his friendly temper But instead of this, the General arrayed his slaves - mounted his horse - and laying hold of his holsters, (not uncommon then for travellers in the Western country to carry on their saddles before them) signified, that they should be his passport. The array was so much larger than any which could be brought to resist it, that Gen. Jackson was permitted to pass unmolested. That Mr Dinsmore was ever charged with "extorting" considerable sums from emigrants or travellers for his passport or that he ever "detained" any one who had no money, till he worked enough for his "passage" (passport) is what I never heard, before seeing the correspondence of Mr Bradford. Mr Dinsmore was represented to me as a firm and determined man, and as yielding to General Jackson's force only because of its superior numbers. He died not very long since at quite an advanced age at Mobile I think - much respected by those

Birney

who knew him. I had no personal acquaint-
ance with Mr Dinsmor, and these facts are
mentioned, in part, that justice may be done, so far as
I can do it, to one, who is dead and against whom
a false impression as I think is sought to be made

With these slaveholding cases and customs
before me, were I to describe General Jackson as a
slave trader, or slave dealer, I feel persuaded according
to slave-holding idiom, I should describe him
improperly; but were I to say of him, that he dealt in
slaves, without any conscientious restraint, whenever he chose — or that he was an occasional
slave dealer, I should not regard myself as departing
more from the truth, nor as doing him any
greater injustice, than I would a Massachusetts
farmer, who, occasionally — as often as he chose — sold
cattle in the Brighton Market, were I to describe
him as a dealer in cattle, or a cattle dealer. Both
are equally protected by law

Whilst you and I are accustomed
to think, that between him who uses the body of
his fellow-being — of his brother — for gain by selling it,
and him who uses it as a machine by laboring with
it, there is no substantial difference, it is not
entirely so at the South. The name of slave trader
is, as I have elsewhere said, a reproachful one there.
But it does not appear to be so in all respects.

In Huntsville there was one — and the history of
one is for the most parts applicable to all of the
tribe. He was brought up to an honest and

Birney

~~honest~~ and respectable calling. This he had altogether given up. I have seen him, almost every afternoon, when he was not out on some trading expedition join a company of the very elite of the village, passing away their time under the shade of some tree, which overhung the pavement; take his full share in the conversation, entertaining them with his coarse jests; many times reciting the sufferings of the slaves he has purchased abroad and his success at retaking such of them as underwent perils and hardships to get away from him, that they might return to the neighborhood of their wives and children which acts had these slaves been white men and perished in doing them, would have been engraved on their tomb-stones.

But he never received an invitation to any house, with a view to his making one of a social party. Where the gentleman gambler or the gentleman dealer in slaves with their families could go at pleasure neither he, nor his family, could go at all

In this matter, all seemed spontaneously to unite to keep him degraded by excluding him. But this person, so carefully shut out from the family, having been a member of the church several years is often provided by the slaveholders with money to buy slaves

Jersey

for them on commission, in his slave-trading ramble to Virginia Maryland &c. He brings them out with his own gang they contributing to increase it and to swell his own importance on the way and on his return, he delivers them to the persons for whom they are bought. Thus even the largest of the planters do their slave trading through him, without any ~~one~~ loss of time, or damage to their own characters or personal risk from the insurrection of the coffle

But it may be said, that these slave traders were always low-minded and coarse persons, who probably, would never have been asked to make one of a social assembly, had they not taken up their odious employment. I fully believe it; for it is only such men that, for money, or the hope of money, will consent to remain in the lowest situation in life, where it is impossible they should have what is indispensable to the happiness of a man, his self-respect. There are others, to be sure, who make their fortunes by the trade, as in the case mentioned in "American Slavery as it is," just previous to the one in question - the substantial truth of which I have no doubt* - but they contrive to do it so indirectly

*Judge Hitchcock, with whom I was well acquainted was from Burlington, Vermont. He went to Alabama, about thirty years since, as Secretary of the Territory. The connection between him and his brother-in-law

Birney

that they can often deny it; or the fortunes they make by it - the fashion and liberality they assume - or the families with which they are connected, deter others from openly talking of it, though their occupation be as notorious as that of the rich slave merchants of Havana or Rio Janeiro

You will think, perhaps, that I have written with unnecessary minuteness on the foregoing subject. But I know how difficult it is, and I not say, it is impossible, to get from any Southern witness, testimony that can be relied on against slavery. They may have political divisions in the South, a warm contest may take place between them for the advantages which a control of the Government is supposed to secure to the successful party. but on the subject of slavery, all parties and persons not only those who are "to the manner born" but those also, who are born and educated in free countries, but go there to reside, become, through love of slavery or through fear of those who do love it united in its behalf They seem to value the reputation of such of the slaveholders as are esteemed great among them and even a

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Mr Erwin in the slave-trade of the country was unreservedly spoken of in Alabama, Mr Erwin buying slaves generally by his subordinates, in the northern slave-selling States and sending them through Mobile then a prosperous place and a good slave market, to the great market at New Orleans. At Mobile where

Birney

lawyer-like defence of their characters, above any accurate and dispassionate contribution to the history of the country,—to prefer concealing the injurious effects of slavery on mind and on the government conducted by men opposed to it, to a fair exposure of them, that we and all others may take timely warning. Thus actuated, they abuse and vilify those who, from the best feelings towards them, as well as their victims, attempt to enquire into those effects. You are not the only one they have so treated within the last fifteen or eighteen years. Even the late able, as well as amiable Channing after his publication against Slavery, did not escape the most intemperate invective on the floor of Congress. It would be no difficult task to cite numberless cases of the most angry reproach—even by persons in high places—reproach which would have been followed by corresponding acts, had an opportunity offered against those who think slavery a wrong to those who suffer it—a wrong to them who apparently profit by it—a wrong to the country and to all who inhabit it. And what renders the case still more deplorable is that Slavery seems to blind

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Mr Hitchcock resided, as many as could be sold, were disposed of—the rest sent to another market. His conscientious feelings against the trade, aided perhaps by the very general complaint of the Bar of which he was a member and afterwards a judge of the Supreme Court of the State induced him as was fully believed

Birney those who look at it and are subject to its daily influence and thus to disqualify them from giving evidence that can be depended on / As if bewitched, they would represent it — even after its horrors have been laid open — as a patriarchal institution; that the Slave-holder is but a wise father, with one, two, or a score, or many scores, of loving and obedient children — that he is but the depositary of a common stock, which, at the outset, he expends for their joint comfort and convenience. Admitting now that this poetry were really true or even founded on truth, does the patriarchal form at all agree with the civilization of the age, or with the principles of our government? Is it not one of the lowest forms of civilization, just emerging from savageism? Might not the towering and thrifty oak, exulting in its growth of an hundred years, wish again to be the acorn from which it grew, as a christian people, running the race of virtue and improvement, wish again to go back to the patriarchal state?

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to quit it entirely He lost I think, the large fortune he was supposed to have accumulated by various speculations and died in a few years ago

Birney

But even this is not true of Slavery. The simplicity of the patriarchal form, how ever that form may be, does not belong to it— but tears and blood and ignorance and violence and the whip— they belong to it.

No more striking evidence of the main truth contained in the last paragraph can be given, than the notion of Mr A Jackson that the slaves of his adopted father loved him like children and were treated as such," &c

Now I am not a going to say that he doesn't believe this; nor that any thing about Slavery from him, however monstrous, could be palmed on the people of the north, nor that slaves do not prefer some masters to others, (though I do think the "&c" does look a little suspicious) but to say, that it is all fanciful— existing only in the imagination. The slave that is kept still— ~~[illegible]~~ place, and that the lowest place among men; without the power of rising out of it— with his body worked and the wages of its labor paid over to another— with his mind attempted to be shrivelled, till it is nearly on a level with the brutes— proscribed from the schools— without learning, except what he can acquire from the non destruction of his senses without any opportunity of improving those mental faculties, the germs of which his Heavenly Father gave him;— such a slave, I say, knowing these things is an absurdity that has never

yet been seen - never will be seen That there may be slaves who are kept in ignorance of these things - or who receive from their masters, what they deem an equivalent for the feeble glimpses which they have of them, I do not deny.

But in them even the spirit of liberty has been almost extinguished by Slavery

When this is the case they may be good slaves, but it would be slander[illegible] by humanity to say they were men

Again Mr A. Jackson says the General's slaves were treated like children. Treated like children! I almost recall what I have just admitted of Mr Jackson's sincere ignorance. If he were not a slave-holder I should think he intended to try the gullibility of the north. I would ask him, does the neglectful, or, if he pleases, the most avaricious father at the south ever treat his children as General Jackson did his slaves!

Does he know a single instance of a father, who had a tythe of the wealth which Gen. Jackson had, who didn't give his children some education - who made them work for him under an overseer properly called the fæculum of society, till death removes them, and who bequeathed them, when he knew he could hold them no longer, to an adopted son and others, wholly of another blood? Tell me of a single instance of this and I will

Birney modify, if not retract, this defence of the South against your slaucher of it to gain favor at the north

If anything can equal the fatuity of Mr Jackson it is the employment given to Mr F. P. Blair by the General "to take care of his character when dead" Mr Blair was then known — notorious, would describe it better as an unscrupulous party editor Had General Jackson not himself been a partizan; had he taken care as Gen Washington did, to write his name in the hearts of his countrymen, instead of making it the watchword of a party, it would never have occurred to him to appoint Mr Blair to so unpleasant an occupation:— unpleasant it must be, for I have ever observed, that, in one respect at least, characters and old sores are alike — the more gangrenous the more sensitive

In this instance, too it appears to have been unnessay for Mr Bradford, though I suppose but a private citizen, holding no especial charge from General Jackson and not quite so abusive and scientific in defence as Mr Blair, was the first to engage in this matter, while Mr Blair seems to have slept on his post till wakened by the former. General Jackson should also have remembered, and his friends may now remember, that even the unlimited autocracy of the Cesars did not prevent a Tacitus and a Satoreas from handing down their deeds in the

most shocking deformity. Not all the care-takers of our Characters, however unscrupulous, and the more unscrupulous the better, whom we may appoint - not all the powers on earth can prevent the real characters of our rulers, and their principal advisers, be they as dark as that of Tiberius or Sejanus, from going down to posterity. The very attempt to prevent it will constitute an additional item of ineffectual tyranny or foolishness; and this singular request by General Jackson will be no unimportant one in his.

Mr Bradford introduces testimonies to General Jackson's official acts, which although they may show his own zeal, and that the General was to him a mighty Coryphæus, do not prove that the latter was wise or sagacious. These acts are accessible to all: I do not therefore choose to examine them, and show the utter worthlessness of all such party-proofs in their support. Mr Bradford ought to remember too that when facts are known, nothing is so venerable to one who prefers the labor of thinking for himself, to the luxury of getting others to think for him, as his own understanding.

The foregoing communication has been written without any special desire that it should be published with my name, if the facts and opinions it contains can be otherwise as well used in this matter, to settle our historic truth. Whether it shall be published or not, is left altogether to your discretion, knowing that you prefer the establishment of truth

Birney

above gaining a triumph.

With great respect,
your obt. Servant.

James G. Birney

Lower Saginaw, July 10 /48.

Dear Sir.

I am compelled, almost, to send you a greatly mutilated copy of my answer to your letter, for did I take time to prepare a fair one, I should have to defer sending it till next week. Should you think best to publish it, be so good as to correct any mistakes you may discover in the writing, punctuation &c. That it may serve the end for which it is written, or contribute to it, is the wish of

Yours truly

James G. Birney

Lower Saginaw, Mich. Jan 15. /49

Mr George W. Jonson:

Dear Sir.

By the last mail, I received your obliging letter, with its enclosures, a very kind letter from Mrs Dinsmoor - her statement in regard to her late husband and General Jackson

page 70.
r the letter
llowing
above of
ly 10th /48

Birney

and an obituary of Col. Dinsmoor, from the Buffalo Morning Express.

Although you have given me entire discretion as to making them public or not, and as much as I think the Statement ought to be used in this way, I have not decided on the mode; but it now strikes me, that I will, at least, send this to Mr Parker — the gentleman to whom my letter in the Post was addressed — and let him publish it, if he thinks proper.

When I spoke of Col. Dinsmore, I was not aware, that there was any person living — for I did not even know that he had ever been married — to be especially gratified at my attempt to do him justice. If you please, make my respects to Mrs Dinsmoor, and tell her that I have had the pleasure of receiving her letter, and that I heartily thank her for it.

Very respectfully
Yours, &c.

James G. Birney

Lower Saginaw, Jan. 22. 1849

Mr Theodore Parker.

Dear Sir.

The enclosed papers I received, as you will see, about two weeks ago.

Quincy

I have concluded to send them all to you. I need not attempt to explain them, as they fully explain themselves. If you choose to copy them, or any of them, or to take any facts from them, do so. When you are done with them — and I will not hurry you — enclose them to me again.

If I am not asking an improper question — who wrote the article on Channing's memoirs, in the September number of the Massachusetts Review?

I acknowledge with much pleasure the letter you were good enough to write to me. It came to hand, together with the Receipt from the Chronotype Office, some time since. The readiness with which you have discharged the little office I imposed on you, and your kind invitation that, when necessary, I should ask for further ones, induce me to request that you would leave at the Chronotype Office the following memorandum of newspapers that I have not received:— No 13. of Vol 2 for August 19. 1847 — No 4. of Vol. 3 for June 17. 1848 — No 23. of Vol. 3. for October 28. 1848. Request them at the Office to send them to me, if they are on hand, as I wish to have the file bound.

I am also indebted to you for your letter to the people of this Country. I have read it with a great deal of pleasure and find it a body of well digested, well told important facts. Likewise, by the same mail, I received the last December No. of the Massachusetts Review.

Birney.

From not seeing in any of the articles that I have read on Postal Reform a Statement made by Mr Henry Clay, when about leaving the Senate in 1842. I have almost distrusted the accuracy of my recollection of it. Yet the impression was very strong. It was substantially that ninety five (95) per cent of the matter sent by the mails was free — & that the P. O. Department was supported by the remaining five (5) per cent. I thought I had the paper containing his remarks on this subject, but in examining such as I have of about that date, I have not found it. If Mr Clay made the Statement, as I have supposed, I don't not it was true, for beyond all doubt he must have had full access to the information of the Post Office, and I think what he said was never denied. If the Statement is considered material, the Nat. Intelligencer from January 1. 1842 to the time of Mr Clay's leaving the Senate, will be found, almost certainly, to contain it.

I calculate on writing an Article on Slavery, and sending it to you time enough to avoid any delay or disappointment. To publish it or not, I shall leave entirely at your discretion — having reliance on your judgement in such matters, and but small ambition to see a piece of mine published, unless it in some measure effects what it aims at. If it would not probably do this, I should consider withholding it a greater proof of friendship for the writer, and of regard for your read-

Birney

than publishing it.

I wrote to you, I think, in the Summer in relation to a man and his wife coming out here to teach and to preach. I wished him to visit this place *first*, to see how he would like it. If he could come any time between June and November, making my house his home while here, and having at his service whatever information and encouragement I could give him, it would be well. I have a daughter, the only one I now have, fourteen years old, of good mind, and desirous to learn. Her, I am desirous to have well-instructed in Music, to which she seems much inclined. I have a son, also, just about half as old as his sister, of very good parts, that I would carry in his education to any extent that he would go to. I wish to infuse into him a desire for intellectual improvement, before inferior desires. So common around him and so easily enlarged, take its place. My daughter is now in Peterboro, N.Y. with a private Teacher, a female, who has but three or four Scholars. The boy who is the Son of my present wife, can read pretty well — write a little — cypher also a little — has some thought small Knowledge of Geography, and to my mind, his capacities for book-learning are sufficiently developed for one of his age.

As you have never in any way, referred to this letter, I have thought you might not have received it. If you have I must direct your attention to it for further particulars: — If not I can write you again. Should you think there is any chance of getting such a person, or

Birney persons as would desire.

Very truly your friend.

James G. Birney.

I

Buffalo. Dec. 29. 1848.

Hon James G. Birney.

My dear Sir.

Having seen a long and very interesting communication of yours in the Boston Post, on the subject of Gen Jackson's connexion with Slavery and in which you generously defend the late Col. Dinsmoor from a base and gratuitous attack by F. P. Blair and A. Jackson I sent a copy of the Post containing the article to the accomplished widow of Col. Dinsmoor now in her seventy second year, whose mother was a sister of my father, and suggested to her the propriety of furnishing a statement of the facts within her knowledge, in relation to the intercourse between her husband and Gen. Jackson. I lately received from Mrs Dinsmoor the accompanying letter of thanks to you, and the accompanying statement in her own hand except the P.S. which was written on her letter to me and copied by me.

I send also an obituary of Col. Dinsmoor, which appeared in one of our city papers soon after his death and from which you will perceive you have not mistaken his character.

In a letter to me dated Feb. 2. 1846. Mrs. Dinsmoor, in speaking of Gen. Jackson says: "Gen. Jackson affected a show of regard for Mr Dinsmoor in all the personal interviews they ever had, and to my own knowledge he (Jackson) and the officers of his staff partook of our Hospitality with every appearance of cordiality and hilarity, at the very time, when his famous letter to George W. Campbell, concerning the turning of the agent in his agency house, was operating to destroy the credit of the agent with the government. His friends if they can, may reconcile this trait of his character with his often boasted frankness and candor. I think the man who can offer the hand of fellowship and graciously partake of your hospitality, while plotting the means to destroy your life, or what is still dearer your reputation, furnishes another humiliating evidence of the depravity of human nature, "That one may smile! and smile!! and be a ——!!!" The foresaid interview is the only one Mr Dinsmore ever had with Gen Jackson at the Agency. I had the honor of entertaining him, his lady and Suite, when they returned from New-Orleans, but Mr Dinsmore was not at home".

Birney

I have understood from a Son of Col. Dinsmore that the threats spoken of were actually uttered by Jackson, but not to Col. Dinsmore, but to others; nor did they come to Col. Dinsmore's knowledge till long afterwards.

You can make what use you think proper of what is now communicated, if you deem it of any importance; and I hope you will excuse the liberty I have taken in troubling you with it. You must lay your account in being annoyed, if, acting on the unprincipled principle "Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto", you will still persist in your old inveterate habit of championing the slandered and oppressed.

With Sentiments
Of the highest respect & esteem
I remain.
Your friend
George W. Jenson.

II

Bellevue, Boone Co. Ky. Nov. 11
1846.

Hon James G. Birney.
Sir.

A friend and relation of mine George W. Jenson Esq. of Buffalo has lately sent me a No. of the Boston Post in

Birney.

which I find a letter of yours vindicating the memory of my late husband Silas Dinsmoor. for which please accept my most earnest and grateful thanks.

The important facts which you have mentioned are correct - but there are some mistakes. among which the principal is that General Jackson threatened the Agent. He probably threatened in the presence of other persons what he would do. but he always treated Mr Dinsmoor with the greatest politeness. Although the admirers of Jackson may not think this very complimentary to his frankness, it is strictly true. At the request of Mr Gordon I have sent him a Statement of facts in relation to the intercourse of the Agent and Jackson a copy of which is subjoined.

With Sentiments of sincere gratitude and respect. I am

Yours.

Mary G. Dinsmoor.

III

The Statement of A. Jackson. quoted in the letter of F. P. Blair as far as it relates to Mr Dinsmoor. is utterly erroneous in every particular. The law required that persons passing through the Indian territory should be provided with passports from the Governors of the adjoining States - and this requisition was made public. The Agent was required by the Secretary of war to examine and register them. It was made his duty also to stop and

detain persons without passports until they could obtain them.

At the time Gen. Jackson passed with his negroes in 1811, Mr Dinsmoor was absent from home, nor was there any person at the Agency but a young man by the name of Smith, who I believe did not even demand his passport.

Gen. Jackson, it appears, wrote to G. W. Campbell about that time complaining of the Agent for demanding passports. The Secretary of War paid no attention to this letter, and the Agent was not removed from office until 1819, and then only for urgently pressing the Secretary Armstrong for a settlement of his accounts at a time when the finances of the Government were in an embarassed State. Mr Dinsmoor had no knowledge of this letter until it was published during the Presidential Canvass of 1828 nor until that publication, had he any idea that Gen. Jackson ever entertained any ill feeling towards him. On the contrary the General had always treated him with the greatest politeness - had entertained him at his Greatest in Washington. Miss. in 1813. and in return Gen Jackson and his principal officers were entertained by us, by special invitation, the same year, when passing through the Indian country with a body of troops. He was afterwards at our house with his family when returning from the campaign at New Orleans. These are facts coming

Birney, J. G.

within my own knowledge, and most of them can be substantiated, I presume, by other living witnesses.

P. S. Mr Dinsmore was not at home when Gen Jackson was last at our house. He had not returned from an expedition down on the coast between New Orleans and Mobile, whither he was ordered with a command of Choctaw warriors.

page 72. the letters preceding this of Aug. 21 '50.

Cincinnati, Aug. 21. 1850.

Dear Sir,

About two weeks ago. I received from Mr Stratton, a bookseller here, the two volumes you were so good as to send me. I have read them since, and find that I am much more indebted to you than I supposed I would be - for they cast a very clear light on subjects that interested me much, and on which mine was dim and uncertain. I am a fearless inquirer, too, as truth ought to be our great object here. I have no prejudice against it of which I am aware; I feel that I am safe - so far as it is concerned - no matter where it leads me, and that to do wrong, intentionally, to any creature would injure me, certainly though it might not injure them. To improve the faculties that God has given me - and what has he not given me.

Birney

with absolute perfection as an aim, seems to me ought to be natural to every human being.

Is not the fear and gloom of the prevailing religion owing almost entirely to the belief that the history of the Creation as given by Moses was plenarily inspired by God, and therefore true, and that the remainder of the Pentateuch is not less true?

It seemed to me a long time ago that the creation of the Devil (ὁ διάβολος) by God, was a very unreasonable thing. Was he distinctly in the Jewish code, till the return of that people from Babylon — and did not Christ consider the Devil, not as a real creation, but only as the concentration of human passion?

I have seen a notice of Prof. Agassiz's article on the unity &c. &c. of the human race, though not the article itself. The notice says he does not deem it necessary to question the account of things in the Pentateuch. If it is so will he not find it difficult if not impossible — to make out his case — unless he takes for true what ought to be proven, but which, as it appears to me, cannot. As well as I now remember Moses nowhere refers his observations about the Creation to the white race.

The failure of the publishers of the Review is certainly to be regretted: but knowing nothing of their case I can say nothing about it — though the desire to make money appears to be as strong

Pinney

now, as it ever was in my recollection: perhaps a little stronger. The passion for accumulation seems to encroach on the judgement of many, if not greatly to weaken it.

If you will tell me how much will be coming for the articles I have hitherto supplied for the Review, I will make some provision by which the sum can be paid to the Eastward. I owe to a friend of mine in Connecticut, the interest of a sum he loaned me many years ago. The principal I have paid him long since. Mind me, that I do not wish you to put yourself to any inconvenience on my account, or to pay me the amount till you can do so with ease. My friend to whom I owe the sum is rich and will not object to waiting.

I mentioned to you that I had determined to undertake an examination of the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Prigg. I have done so. I have - though not formally - divided my examination into three parts: - the first is intended to prove that the decision has not satisfied and quieted the public mind - the second the misunderstanding and of course the misrepresentation of the facts. These two, I have gotten through pretty completely. The last of them has made it necessary for me to examine very carefully the Madison Papers. I find the famous compromise, so much

Surrey

spoken of, embraced the clause for every State that desired it - practically for South Carolina and Georgia, then, the Southern States - to import Slaves till 1808, and send them away to any State that would admit them.

For this commerce was to be regulated by a majority of Congress instead of two thirds.

The last part - the 3d - will relate to the insufficiency of the reasons on which the judgment is given. I have scarcely begun this yet, yet I scarcely suppose that it will take me very long. I have it now in my mind, and can see through it sufficiently well.

I have perused the case very often, and am more and more convinced of its unsoundness. If you would glance through the manuscript when I get it done, I would send it to you, and feel very much obliged to you for any suggestions you might make. I want to make it as perfect as I can.

The leading object with me is - that is, if it should be likely to produce any good effect - is to have it published even if it makes me nothing. I cannot undergo the expense of publishing it, because I am too poor, and cannot attend to the sale of it. If nothing better can be done, I would give the manuscript to any publisher - he releasing me from all responsibility and undertaking to have it printed and circulated. If the manuscript could be sold for anything above this, the avails could

Piney

hardly be bestowed on one who needs them much more than I do. If I shall succeed well in presenting the case accordingly to the manner in which it now lies in my mind, it will probably be worth something. The Prigg case - or at least, the doctrines of it, are working great mischief in the West. There is hardly a case put on trial but the plaintiff gets the heaviest damages for obstructing or hindering &c. Judge Jackson has given some very bad charges, as it seems to me. He gives such charges as clearly to show where he is - such as persuade most of the juries that he has in his Court to go with him. His juries are, for the most part, from what may be called, the richer class of the citizens - persons who generally think but little, except about their own business, and act wrong so far as the people are concerned. They think it only gentlemanly to give to the Slaveholder the highest damages he can prove and all the interest they can add to it.

I prefer publishing in Boston to publishing here. You have more readers. Here they seem too much taken up with making money to attend to any higher interest. This place (Cincinnati) has grown wonderfully in a few years. There will probably be in it 120,000 people. I have no doubt that this Spirit has also invaded your place (Boston) but not so thoroughly perhaps as here.

My name being attached to the piece or not must depend on its retarding or advancing it. I am myself entirely indifferent to it.

I think I will set out for home next week. where, if you have time, I should be glad to hear from you.

Yours very respectfully

James G. Birney.

Lower Saginaw, Mich. Nov. 6. 1850.

Dear Sir.

You will no doubt be surprized at receiving the tail of my piece before the head. But some days ago I put up my package with some of the pamphlet Numbers of the Massachusetts Review, which I have fully explained to you in a letter in the package - and since that I have written the following Note, which I can send by letter. So that you will, in all probability, get the letter first. The package I expect to send next week, by a gentleman who resides in New York and who is looked for here to-night, with a good deal of certainty. If all things go well, he will take it to Buffalo or Rochester, where he will put it in the hands of the Express to be conveyed to you. Will you be so good as to acknowledge the receipt of the package when you get it?

Remember, you have entire control of the whole piece. If from any cause, the Manuscript will bring nothing, I will cheerfully submit to it. But if anything can be realized from it, the

(Birney

avails will be very acceptable to.

Yours truly,

James G. Birney.

P. S. If you see any omissions or mistakes in my piece, be so good as to correct them.

J. G. B.

Bower Saginaw Dec. 2d 1850.

Dear Sir.

Young Mr Jennison, who is at the Law School at Cambridge is here, and tells me he is going on to Boston to-morrow; I have concluded that I would let you know by him - or rather by this letter. for he has promised to take it to Boston - that I sent you on. the manuscript of my examination of the Prigg case two weeks, to-morrow, by the steamboat to Detroit; that it was to be carried from Detroit to Boston by the Express and delivered to you or at the Liberator Office where you would get it.

I also requested you to send me some books if they did not come too high. (De Witte as translated by you.) This I wish you to do still.

I imposed on you some trouble in regard to my friend, Mr Norton, of Connecticut. This I did because I did not know how much the books would come to, and that I did not wish to draw in his favor on you, since you might not have been fully prepared to meet my draft.

62
Birney

now you have it in your own hands.

I have read the account of Mr Thompson's reception at Faneuil Hall. If you should think of it on seeing him present me very respectfully to him. I am glad he has come over at this time, but I am ashamed that he has been received so shamefully. I look on him as one of the most eloquent men I have heard. not in his impassioned and high wrought declamation but in his very lucid statement of his case. The truth with me is the very highest eloquence, and he appears to have enough of it to make his declamation and his denunciation seem very natural.

Yours truly.

James G. Birney.

P. S. I sent you on also my remarks on Mr Crittenden's official exposition of the fugitive slave bill. If you have received what I sent you, be so good as to acknowledge their having come to hand.

Bowne Saginaw Feb. 10. 1851.

Very dear Sir.

The person to whom the enclosed letter is directed, I think lives in Worcester. If he does, will you be so good as to give the letter to some person who will hand it to Mr Patrick? If Mr Patrick is not in Worcester I know not where he is to be found.

Birney

Those more interested than I am must try to find out his residence.

I have just now received your Sermon on the State of the Nation - but I have not had time yet to read it. I thank you for it, and I have no doubt the reading of it will give me a great deal of pleasure.

Yours truly.

James G. Birney.

P. S. I give you a great deal of trouble, and I can not see how I can ever do any thing for you.

"Lowell Saginaw. Michigan, Aug. 6th. /57.

Dear Sir.

About two months ago - I think it was - I wrote to you that I had not received the 3d. Vol. of the Massachusetts Review, and requesting you to send it to me by the Express. At the same time I told you, if you had made no engagement about my paper on the Prigg case by which you considered yourself at all bound, to be good enough to send it together with the Book to my friends J. J. Armstrong and Bro. Detroit.

Having heard nothing from you since, and having heard nothing of the Book, I am somewhat apprehensive that you have not received my letter. My reason for writing now is, that I wish to go to Cincinnati, where I will

probably remain all the winter. I wish to set off in about five weeks. If you write to me or send any thing to me after the 1st. of next month. be good enough to direct it to James Birney Cincinnati, Ohio.

With great regard,

James G. Birney.

Cincinnati, Dec. 15. 1851.

Dear Sir.

I enclosed a letter to you, several weeks ago in one to my friend Wright of the Commonwealth - requesting him to hand it to you, which I presume he did. Since then - nor I believe for many months - I have received no letter from you.

In the event that you have not received my last letter, the purport of it was, that if you had made no engagement respecting my paper on the Prigg case, that you would send it to me by mail. If you send it, please pay the postage on it, and I will return it to you as soon as I know what it is.

It has occurred to me that, probably, it may have been lost or mislaid. Should this be so, the sooner the fact is made known to me the better - as - Should I deem it necessary - I could the more easily write it over ag

Birney

from the rough drafts which I have kept.

Very truly yours.

James G. Birney.

Lower Saginaw. Michigan. Sept. 20. 1832.

Dear Sir.

In submitting to you the subsequent proposition, I do not wish or intend to give you the trouble of stating in extenso, the reasons for any opinion you may entertain concerning it. I wish only to know the conclusions you have come to about it; for in them I would have as much confidence as in those of any other person.

The great First Cause whom we call God, brings a human being – a creature – into existence. He supplies him with every thing he has, or at least, with the means of acquiring every thing he has, both physically and mentally. He well knows what will affect and influence him in every way. The creature thus brought into being – yielding to seductive and criminal influences and temptations – becomes in one view a very bad and vicious one. Now to punish him at all – saying nothing of forever — for yielding to influences and temptations which he was formed to yield to, and which it was known he would yield to, appears to me unjust. The in cortice reasoner will say

66)
Birney

admitting all this, the creature at last knows that he is a free agent - that he is conscious he can choose one of any two things. But this will not satisfy the close enquirer, for he will ask, who made him this Free Agent - who made him conscious that he could choose one of two things?

If you will give me an answer to this - a very simple one it need be - I will be much obliged to you.

Expecting a reply from you, at your convenience, I remain, dear Sir, your most obedient Servant,

James G. Birney.

Lower Saginaw, Mich. March 6th 1853.

Dear Sir.

You will begin to think that I am a most pertinacious and troublesome man, but I pray you rather attribute my acts to my confidence in you than to any wish to be troublesome. Among all my old friends there is not one that I can consult with the same confidence I can you, on the subject I wish to bring before you.

For six or seven years I have been accustomed to write down my thoughts on the matters of the day, or on books and facts that I had gotten in the course of my reading. I find on looking over them, the subjects are much more

Birney

various than I had supposed. As they were intended for my own recreation, and mainly for my Children - never till quite lately for publication in book form. I have taken more than common pains to have the Statements correct, and the inferences from them, as far as I know, incontrovertible I have already rewritten many of them - they will all require to be rewritten - and given them as becoming a dress as I knew how. I would send them to you, but I have thought it would be imposing too far; besides it has pretty much the appearance of the ancient quack, who wanted to sell his horse, and carried about a brick as a Sample. But I venture, any how, to send you the Preface, which is short, and which you will have time to read. After you do this, please return it to me, as I have no copy of it. Should you think favorably of my design of publishing, any corrections which you may make in it, will be thankfully received.

Now. I am not rich enough to pay the expense of printing and binding it - of getting it out and put into circulation &c. &c. While I would not despise remuneration, my main object is to have my thoughts read, and thought on, by my country men, if these thoughts be considered worthy. Therefore I am willing to make any liberal compensation that the Book will give, for these Services. Should it be deemed competent to make them.

Verney

To be more particular: How much a page did your "Critical and Miscellaneous Writings" cost you? If published, I should wish it printed with type of about the same size.

If a publisher would undertake it, if he thought it would "pay" - provided he should like it - I would send him on a fair sample of the work that he might judge. You are the only person to whom I have communicated my wishes, and I wish to keep the authorship concealed as well as may be. The Preface would make one think that it is rather a religious work; but it is not. The religious articles (strictly) will not be more than one in eight or ten, and the articles, generally are short. If a publisher would undertake it, and there is any special reason for haste, I could have it prepared - say 400 pages - by the 1st of June. In the meantime I could send to him those that are written and prepared. If none, then I should like to take till the 1st of September. The political articles will be dated: so will all articles about which time is, in any way, necessary.

Now, my dear Sir, do not think that I will be at all distressed or disappointed by an utter failure of the project. I do not estimate my labors so high, as to think that the world will stop or be much affected, if they are not performed. Therefore, if you find there is any difficulty in the

Birney matter, give it up.

Expecting soon to hear from you
I remain yours,
very faithfully

James G. Birney.

P. S. In your Sermon on Webster you say substantially that Mr Clay was rather glad that Webster did not receive the nomination at Baltimore. The remark is concurrent with what I deem the character of Mr Clay, but be so good as to let me have the evidence of it that you have!

The Title I have thought of is this — The Medley or Brief Essays on important Subjects.

Nullius addictus
jurare in verba
magistri. Horace.

Tower Saginaw. Sunday. June 11.
1843.

Dear Sir.

I have no expectation that any expression of my sympathy with you and Mr Phillips and your Co-Editors in the Burns case will lead you more actively to perform your duties than you have done. But if it does not do you any good, it does me much. My dear Sir, you and Mr Phillips and

Birney

the others who assisted you, but who are not named so particularly in the papers, have my warmest Sympathy in what you have done for the cause of freedom — without any stint.

I most earnestly wished that the issue of the case would have been different. But if it did not come up to our wishes, none can deprive us of the joy which we all have in doing our best to give it a happy one.

If you think it worth while, Say to the friends of liberty how warmly I Sympathize with all their efforts to establish it.

Most truly yours.

James G. Birney

Bower Saginaw, Michigan.
October 27. 1846.

Dear Sir.

See page 45.

May I ask of you to hand $3.00 of the enclosed $5.00 note to the Publishers of the Massachusetts Review, for the next year, and the remaining $2.00 to the Publishers of the Chronotype requesting them to give me the necessary credit?

I would not trouble you with these matters, only I wished to Say Something to you, and I think the Post Office Law forbids the enclosing of a letter for any one besides the person to whom the outside letter is directed. Besides, I thought, I might

Birney

kill two birds or more, with one stone.

How would you like to have another article on Slavery - say, 15 or 20 pages - for the Review? I doubt whether Mr Spooner's position, or the one opposed to it in the last number, can be sustained. I incline much to believe that the makers of the Constitution, under a strong persuasion that Slavery would, at once, be on the wane, and, in the end die out, did not suppose there would be any necessity for abolishing it by Law. Under this impression, and as if Slavery did not exist they engrafted into the Constitution principles of freedom, incompatible with it, of course; whilst, at the same time, they adopted measures to keep the peace, between the States, during its temporary existence and gradual extinction. They did not intend that another Slave State should be taken into the Union. With this view, as well as to discourage Slavery as much as they supposed they could, the Ordinance of 1787 was made to limit the reclamation and recovery of fugitive Slaves to the "original" States. Sufficient prominence, as it appears to me, has not been given to this clause of the ordinance.

Should you wish such an article - and I would not have you publish it in the Review, unless every way worthy of it - I will endeavor to prepare it; but I must take a good deal of time, for my bodily ailments greatly disqualify me, occasionally, from sitting in a writing posture

172 Birney

at a table – and I have no amanuensis.

I have answered all the letters that I have received from you. I say this, lest my answers may not have come to hand. I got two Copies of the Boston Post containing my last letter to you. I have also received your Sermon on the Mexican war. I need not say, with what pleasure I read it, and how much I prize it.

With my best regards for you and wishes for your welfare I remain

very truly, your friend,

James G. Birney.

V. 55

Tower Saginaw, Michigan, March 5
1850.

Dear Sir,

I received, some time ago, an envelope enclosing a receipt for the Chronotype for this year. I thank you for your kind attention to this matter. The Massachusetts Review for December came to me. This was a sufficient receipt for that.

The debates on the right of petition, that have taken place, in the Senate, at its present Session, have suggested to me the writing of an article on that subject. It will be comprized, as it now lies in my head, in about ten pages – fourteen at most. I shall take

Pinney

the ground that has long appeared to me the true one, that there is no restraint on the right. In the debates I have read, no Senator - with the exception of Mr Chase and perhaps of Mr Hale - seemed to have any proper conception of it. Would you like such an article for your next, or for your September number from me? I have laid some emphasis as you discover, on me. Understand me - I have so far as I am personally concerned, not the slightest objection to your publishing the names of the different writers, but I am of the opinion that my name is a good deal unpopular - and that many people consider me so ultra in my opinions, that they will not read an article known to be mine, or, if they should read it, they will not let it have the proper influence on them. But this is a matter of which you can judge - perhaps better than I can - and I trust you will consider it among the reasons why a piece should appear or not appear in the Review. I shall have the manuscript of it ready by the time I can hear from you. If you wish such a piece, I have but a single condition to prescribe - that you do not after seeing it suffer it to exclude a better one.

Mr Dabney's book came to me, by the mail, but the cover being torn off before I received it, I do not know certainly to whom I am indebted for the favor; though I have little doubt. I am your debtor for it. His main

7A Birney

question. I think, he supports very well, and I am somewhat surprized, that this view of many papages so long escaped me: but there are many incidental questions, in which I set him down as over credulous, and therefore wrong.

We get the mail here, but once a week. The March Number of the Review, I will probably get, when the mail again comes down.

You will consider the requests made, I think, in my last letter, as still standing.

Very truly, yours.

James G. Birney.

P. S. Has the Chronotype stopped? If so, what is my friend, Wright, doing?

turn back to p. 55 J. G. B.

Lower Saginaw, Mich. April 26. 185-2.

Dear Sir,

Your letter, in reply to my last, was received by our yesterday's mail. I am quite obliged to you for it.

The article I mentioned to you I have finished. I could have it fully copied by the next mail — but as you are in no particular haste for it. I will wait till a very good opportunity offers to send it — at least as

Birney

for as the State of New York. As far as I am concerned you may depend on it for your September No. and I hope you will be pleased with the doctrine it maintains.

I have not yet received the March No. of the Review: will you be so good as to ask the publishers, if they are entirely sure they sent it?

Yours truly,

James G. Birney.

Cincinnati, July 8. 1850.

Dear Sir.

I left home on the 3d. last month, but before doing so, I received your letter acknowledging the receipt of mine containing my article on the Right of Petition.

I have been here more than four weeks at my Son's. I got since I came, Mr Mann's first letter to those who had invited him to a repast, together with two copies of your addresses. I have had great pleasure, not unmingled with a good deal of profit, in reading them both. Mr Mann has addressed I learn another to Mr Webster, in consequence of Mr Webster's Newburyport letter. I have not however seen it.

7A
Birney

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Birney

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Yours truly,

James G. Birney.

Cincinnati, July 6. 1850.

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Parsey

though I understand it deals with no small justice and severity with Mr Webster. I should like to see it.

I was a good deal moved, after I came here with the false glosses put on the Fugitive Bill in the Senate, and I wrote a piece about it. I tried unsuccessfully by my son to get it published in the Gazette, Chronicle, and Daily Times, pretty decided Whig newspapers and of larger circulation than the Sentinel. If you think it worthy, and that it will "pay," you can have it published in pamphlet-form, or on a sheet like yours you sent me, and circulated. I think the views are such as have not been presented. I desire nothing from its publication, in the way of money.

I have an impression on my mind that in my article on the right of petition, I used six years on the Constitutional difference in age between a Representative and Senator. Why I did so, I cannot well tell. But if it is so, I wish you would make it right. (Five.) I have read, since coming here, the criticism in Littell's Living Age, on two of your works, that has given much desire to see them. They appear, however, to be published in England. They are, I think, in none of the Book-Stores here. But you, no doubt, have some of them. If you would send me a copy of each by the

Birney

Express - telling me the price of them, I will contrive some way of sending it to you. I say this, on the supposition that you have them to spare.

If you think it would be best to sign my real name - instead of an unlikely one to my fugitive bill piece, you can do so. The piece may have additional importance from its being the only one of any length on that side from the West.

If, moreover, you see any mistakes in it, rectify them. (printers of) It is badly punctuated - the paper in which it is published being in such a great hurry - and it could be much improved in that respect.

Mrs Birney - my daughter and little Son, went on to New York where they now are (at Peterboro) I declined going any further than this. I am to meet them on their return. If I can get a place in this neighborhood with my Lower Saginaw property, I will probably reside here - that is, if it does not throw me again too much into debt.

Send me some paper or other token from Boston that you have received this - that is, if you have not time to write.

My quotations from Mr Webster's Speech are from Stringer and Townsend's edition of it. I supposed all that was published, as his Speech, would be the same on the subjects embraced in it. But since my piece was handed in to the printer, I discover that there are some variations between the edition that I used and the one which I

Binney

presume Mr Webster himself published. The only one that I now remember is where he says the import of the clause in question is "plainly" this. &c. &c. In the edition by Mr Webster the word "plainly" is omitted. In another papage he is made to use the word "receive" where in the other edition it is "respect". The latter is to my apprehension, far the best word, and the one which Mr Webster most probably used. Though I don't think the variations are at all material yet as I wish to be just, even to the most scrupulous be so good - if you consider my piece worth re-publishing, in any form - as to make this appear either by taking out the words entirely, and adding such remarks as will be appropriate, or by attaching a note that will shew how those words got in.

Have you lately read the opinions of the Judges of the Supreme Court? Although they agree on the main point - that the Pennsylvania law, under which Prigg was indicted, is unconstitutional - yet as to other points altogether material on the general subject viz. whether the legislative power is exclusively in Congress or whether the individual States may legislate in aid of Congress, they are very variant. The opinions, as it strikes me are very unsound, and therefore, very vulnerable. I think one could hardly do now a more welcome and seasonable

Birney

job, than to make this unsound ness appeal. If nobody will undertake the matter, who can do it better than I can — and if my condition of health &c. will enable I will endeavor to do it, this fall and winter. I would not desire in the least to preoccupy the ground, or to hinder the effort of any one else — for I may not write as effective an article as they would, and indeed the State of my health may prevent me from writing any at all: — beside, if I should write one the non-publication of it, when it may be supplanted by a more effective one, will be to me a "thing of nothing".

As the coming out of my piece may be delayed yet for several days, I have concluded to send you this letter to-day. When I get it in proper form, I will send you the paper (weekly) containing it. With my best wishes for your welfare always

I remain

Truly your friend
James G. Birney.

Lower Saginaw. Michigan
October 7. 1850.

Dear Sir

I left Cincinnati at the time I mentioned to you in my last letter from that place, and I have been at home nearly a month.

I have spent some time on the Prigg

Penney

case, and have nearly completed it. I have got so far that I expect to have it finished in two or three weeks, and before there will be time to hear from you. It will occupy, I think, about 70 pages of the old Massachusetts Review.

I will leave it entirely with you to sell the manuscript to some Publisher, or to have it printed and sold for my benefit, allowing the publisher of course for his trouble. If any pains are taken I think large numbers could be sold at the least - for it is on a question that interests the whole country. In either case, I wish you to have half for your trouble, and in any event, I wish to be exonerated from paying in money for the printing. D. F. Wright's pamphlet is well got up, and would be a good model. I am entirely indifferent to having my name inserted as the author; I shall not at all object to it, if no better fictitious one can be found. I can enclose you the manuscript as soon as I hear from you. Find time, if you can, to let me know that you have received this.

If you are too much engaged to attend to it, perhaps, my friend Wright would if he is not too much employed about the Chronotype, which I trust he will send me.

If neither he nor you can attend to it, any other one that you may commit it to, will

Birney

be acceptable.

If it will bring nothing more than the expense of printing – which, in no event, I wish to be made liable for, because I do not know how much it will be, and I may find it inconvenient – though small to pay it – I wish it printed, for it may benefit others to some extent.

The above about the piece is written on the supposition, that you shall deem it worthy to be printed – that it is a fair argument and presentation of the question, and that it will have some tendency to do good by effecting its Ojeet.

Expecting to hear from you in three or four weeks. I remain truly Yours &c.

James G. Birney.

P. S. If it should be printed, I wish it done very correctly, and any inaccuracies that may have escaped me to be amended.

J. G. B.

Be so good as to let me know in your next what is the price in Boston of your translation of De Witte? There are two volumes, I think.

82 Birney

Lower Saginaw, Michigan,
October 30. 1850.

Dear Sir.

I received your letter of the 14th last evening, and I am very much obliged to you for it: indeed, I cannot say to you how much I feel myself your debtor for the pains you have taken for me, and for what you will take hereafter.

I have got my manuscript in the Prigg case ready, all but a little copying by my daughter which will be done very soon, and which I trust you will be able easily to make out. I will send it on to Detroit to be sent to you by the Express from that place. I will send in the same package a volume of the Massachusetts Review and three pamphlet Numbers of it: those for December, June and September. The March number I have not received. Will you be so good as to exchange the Numbers including the March Number, for a bound volume to correspond with the one I send. The one I send and it can be sent to Detroit by the Express to Mr William Armstrong, care of Messrs Moore and Foote. The expense of the No. I have not received keep out of the means in your hands.

In my last letter I asked you the

Birney

price of your Translation of De Bette - but in the letter gotten last evening, you said nothing about it. I suppose it was an omission. Be so good as to send me a copy (with the Volumes of the Massachusetts Review) - if it does not come too high (say $5.00 or about that.)

Would it not be well to "enter" the Examination in the Prigg case according to the act of Congress? I wish twenty-five copies of it to send chiefly to my Southern friends, if it should be printed in pamphlet form. You can have them sent to Detroit as above. The remarks in this paragraph are made on the supposition that the article is worthy of the pains. I wish you to consider your power over it as entirely plenipotentiary. Putting my name to it may make some little alteration necessary. If you think so, alter it accordingly. If there should be any blanks or inaccuracies I wish you would fill them up, and correct the latter. I wrote that part of the article which quotes from the Madison Papers at Cincinnati where I had the use of a copy. Mr Bingham, in Congress has since bought me a copy but I have not yet received it, and have had no chance of going over the quotations again, and seeing that they are accurate. I trust they are correct however.

If it should not be published in pamphlet form, I wish the newspaper that publishes it, as far as this publication may go, sent to me, as I

Birney. take none of those that you mention.

After you have deducted as above, I wish you would tell Mr Norton - whose last letter I enclose you - that he may draw on you for the amount you will be able to ascertain. Altogether it cannot be much under ninety dollars. allowing him the New York interest, which is somewhat higher than the Connecticut interest. He lives in Farmington, Conn. but he has been very liberal with me in never pressing me for the money, and I feel not at all inclined to have any words with him about the interest. The remainder, if you choose to pay it for me, I will pay him pretty soon. Will you be so good as to send me back Mr Norton's letter when you have done with it.

Yours truly

James G. Birney.

James G. Birney Esq.

To John T. Norton Dr

1841.

Feb. 26th To my note due 5/8 April - $25-0-

1846 Jany 14. Interest from 8th April to this date at 6. per cent 4 years 9 mos. 6 days $11.50

$321.50

Cr.

1846 Jany 14. By Cash 25-0.

Amount due 14. Jany 1846 $11.50

Albany, Jan 1. 1847.

Dear Sir.

In conformity with your request I send above an account of the interest and the amount loaned you in 1841, and am

very Sincerely
Your friend & Servant
John T. Norton.

J. G. Birney, Esq.

86

Herndon.

Springfield. Ill. May 13. 1854.

Sir.

I once wrote to you. when I first became acquainted with your writings. I then had but a few of them. I now have them all. My attachment to the Sentiments are stronger. I may say I am pulled to them.

A few days since I wrote to Messrs. Crosby & Nichols to send me two books. - one on Spiritualism. and one on Materialism, and knowing your tasks. I preferred your judgment to others. I hope you will choose me the two best books and tell Messrs Nichols & Crosby. and they will send.

If you will send me a list of a few books. of your taste - known for deep. rich benevolence, Strong, energetic and massive language. I will send and get. I love this peculiar kind of Eloquence. May I say you are my Ideal - Strong and rich. energetic and charitable.

Your attention to this will much oblige me. Yet if too much trouble do not do it.

I did not in my letter to you give the proper direction - Superscription and for which I now offer you my apology.

Yours truly

W. H. Herndon

W. H. Herndon.

Springfield. Ill. June 11. 1854.

Dear Sir.

I received yours of May 22nd and your Sermon on old age. I am under many obligations to you for both letter and Sermon.

Let me say to you that I do you and Emmerson or rather Truth some good here. I have made presents of your Sermons and some of Emmerson's rather than not have them read.

I hope you will write out your New York Speech and your last Boston Sermon The country needs moving with an Eloquent and Enthusiastic power.

If you write out and publish, please send me a copy.

Yours. Truly

W. H. Herndon.

Springfield. Ill. Janry 7. 1855.

Dear Sir.

Some few weeks since I wrote you a short letter asking you therein Some questions. The question asked was this. Can you come out here this winter and deliver us Some Lectures? We have a good Hall and all conveniences. The

letter has not been answered. It may never have reached you.— may have been taken out at Bolton P. O. or here. I know you cannot afford to come out to deliver one or two Lectures at any one place, but if you get several places you can — do not know but that you have such arrangements out west. and if you have make it convenient to come here.

Please answer.

Yours. Truly
W. H. Herndon.

P. S.

Our Legislatures are now in Sepion. Anti. Nebraska men are all elected — those who fill the offices of Speaker, Clerks &c. A perfectly clean Sweep of Slaveites and know-nothing men

W. H. H.

Springfield. Ill. Feb. y. 13. 1855.

Dear Sir.

I am sorry you cannot come out west. and lecture for us. You have however a good Expense. Your trial comes on in March. and I hope you will attend to it. as you do to all things. Blast Slavery if you can.— Aid freedom to

Vernon. Stand erect, and with the forces of nature floating every where, man will get enter goodness, and develop greatness, along the lines of time, and on the realms of Space. I know nothing I desire more than freedom and elevation of my brother man. These can never be accomplished while wrong rules. tyranny or freedom must dominate.

They are now Struggling. I have no fears as to which will triumph. I know.

I hope you will get good council and attorneys with yourself, and go to trial and there have good reporters. Make Speeches and send out to the world, for no youngger men to read and inhale human light drunk in.

During the Election here and before, I took the Stump and did all I could for freedom. aided the prep. wrote late and early. All I wish is, that I could do it over, every November of my life. I knew during the Election that if the People would take their Stand on their religiousness of soul that all would go right. They took that Stand and Illinois Stands redeemed. Douglas, can no more control Illinois than a Hottentot Chief can. We are free. When we can look one another in the face and talk on this question without evasion or "Eye. dropping", you may know all is right. We are in that condition. I may not go as far as some

Herndon.

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You are aware that Judge Trumbull is now our United States Senator. He was elected in place of Gen. J. Shields. He is Anti-Nebraska Anti-Douglass. He was our Judge of Supreme Court, before whom I have often spoken in the capacity of Lawyer. He is a good man. no demagogue. and a personal enemy of Douglas. This is more than the press can tell you. Great thorn, rough and poisonous in the heart of Douglas. My opinion - I suppose that Trumbull has pledged himself to vote against the admission of all and every Slave State and for repeal or modification of the infamous Fugitive Slave bill.

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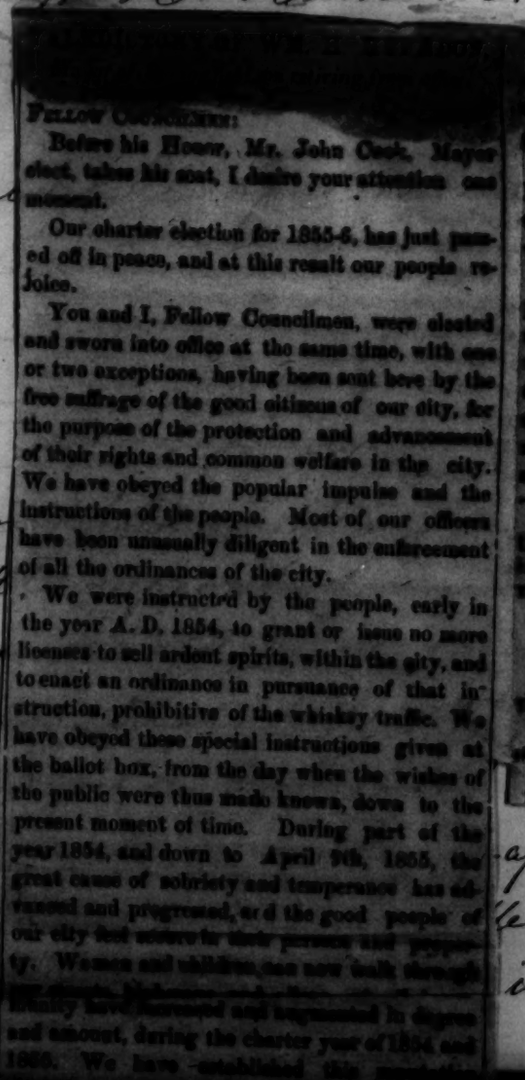

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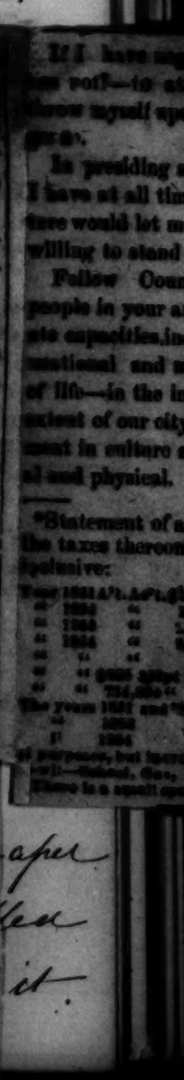

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VALEDICTORY OF WM. H. HERNDON,
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" "	"		
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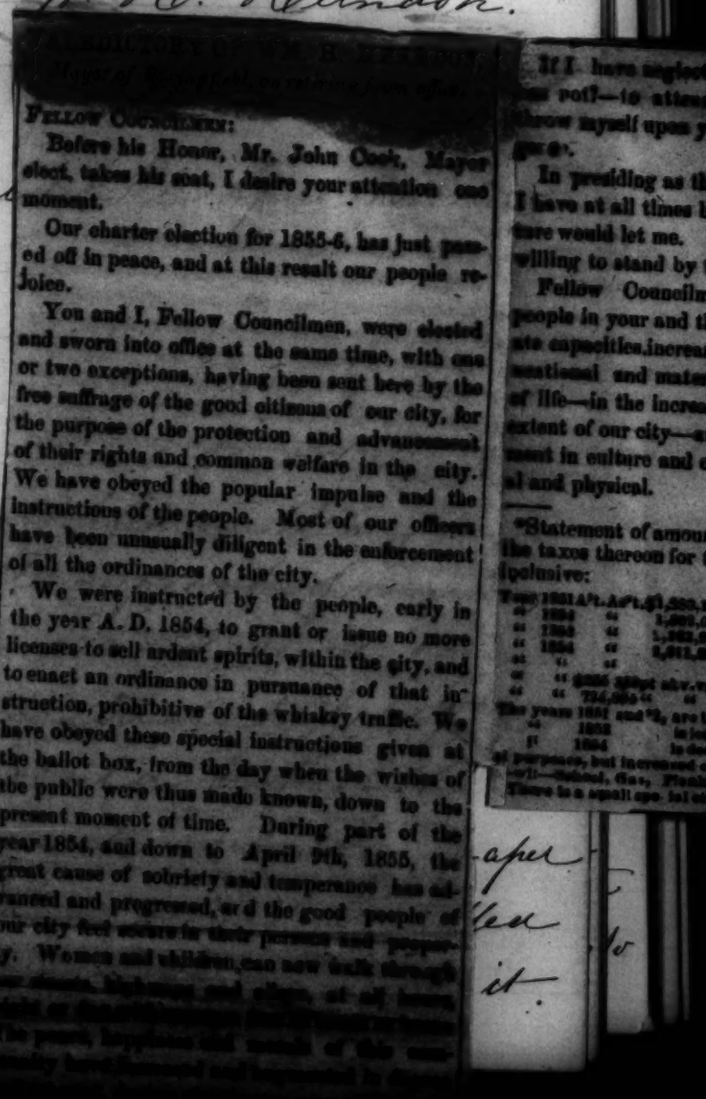

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The peace, happiness and morals of this community have increased and augmented in degree and amount, during the charter year of 1854 and 1855. We have established this reputation abroad, as well as at home. We ought to enjoy it. There are a few places, yet in our city, where whiskey, poisoned and deathful, is sold to the initiated few. Yet, upon the whole, great good and lasting results have followed. Not one half as much whiskey is drunk now as in former years. I say this after mature reflection, founded on observation of the habits, business, pursuits and conduct of our people. I say this individually. I state it officially from this chair.

We all have assisted in bringing about this happy state of affairs, over which all good men should exult. We have obeyed the people.—They have not been betrayed.

Let me say here, what I have scarcely ever said before, probably never. I went personally to some, if not most of the groceries, in our city, with the instructions of the people in my hands, fresh from the ballot box, and told them they *must* close their doors. I told them kindly, I intended to see the ordinances of the city executed —particularly the ordinance against the sale of intoxicating liquors, which you and I had been specially ordered to enforce and obey, by the vote of the people. The people were insulted by these men. They said they would not shut their doors unless they saw proper so to do. I knew this information given to the persons would be made known to all others following the whiskey business. I made the request before one single prosecution was put on foot, and gave them open public official notice of my intention. I did not betray the trust reposed in me. I were the violators of the law deceived. I refer to the records of your Police Magistrates.

If I have in, any case, prosecuted persons for a violation of the ordinances of the city, which I have done, upon complaint of others, I have always done it with the instincts of mercy, but with a man's sense of justice, specially instructed and sworn.

This has been a year of trial to this new Board of Councilmen and all the officers. We had a new city charter given us by the Legislature, which has increased equities and powers.—This city charter was accepted by the city authorities and we had to apply it, with the equities and powers, to the modes of living and thoughts and feelings of

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Our city revenue has almost doubled in amount over the years 1851, '2 and '3, without an increase in the rates of taxation. Our whole property, real and personal, has more than doubled in value over the same years. There was and is an increase of the rates taxation, to a small amount, over former years—because of [illegible]

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ways done it with the instincts of mercy, but with a man's sense of justice, specially instructed and sworn.

This has been a year of trial to this new Board of Councilmen and all the officers. We had a new city charter given us by the Legislature, which has increased equities and powers.—This city charter was accepted by the city authorities and we had to apply it, with the equities and powers, to the modes of living and thoughts and feelings of our people, as manifested by the habits, property, conditions and circumstances of the citizens. It was no small trouble to pass, enact and ordain ordinances and by-laws to meet and suit all opinions and the emergencies of the moment. Time alone must correct our acts. We have met often and toiled long. We have done, what is done, for the individual and the public good—injuring no individual in his rights, but advancing and securing personal and the public rights.

Our city revenue has almost doubled in amount over the years 1851, '2 and '3, without an increase in the rates of taxation. Our whole property, real and personal, has more than doubled in value over the same years. There was and is an increase of the rates taxation, to a small amount, over former years—because of the school laws, gas light tax and planking.

[illegible] enlarged. Our public square has been well planked and the city supplied and now lighted up with gas. We are without a city debt, and have money in the treasury. No officer has done an injury to the city in its finances, so far as discovered. None is anticipated.

An official statement will soon appear, showing the exact state and condition of our city affairs. The publication of the annual report has been delayed on account of unavoidable accidents and difficulties.

We have expended thousands of dollars this year for the purchase of school grounds in all and each of the wards of the city. It is to be hoped that good, comfortable and commodious school houses will soon be erected on the lots, and that all the children in the city, the high and the low, the rich and the poor, may then and there receive a good, practical English education. [illegible] our acts in this particular.

Herndon.

yet so far as I go, I am fixed.

You are aware that Judge Trumbull is now our United States Senator. He was elected in place of Gen. J. Shields. He is Anti Nebraska. Anti Douglass. He was our Judge of Supreme Court, before whom I have often spoken in the capacity of Lawyer. He is a good man. no demagogue. and a personal enemy of Douglas. This is more than the pres can tell you. Great thorn, rough and poisonous in the heart of Douglas. My opinion - I suppose that Trumbull has pledged himself to vote against the admission of all and every Slave State and for repeal or modification of the infamous Fugitive Slave bill.

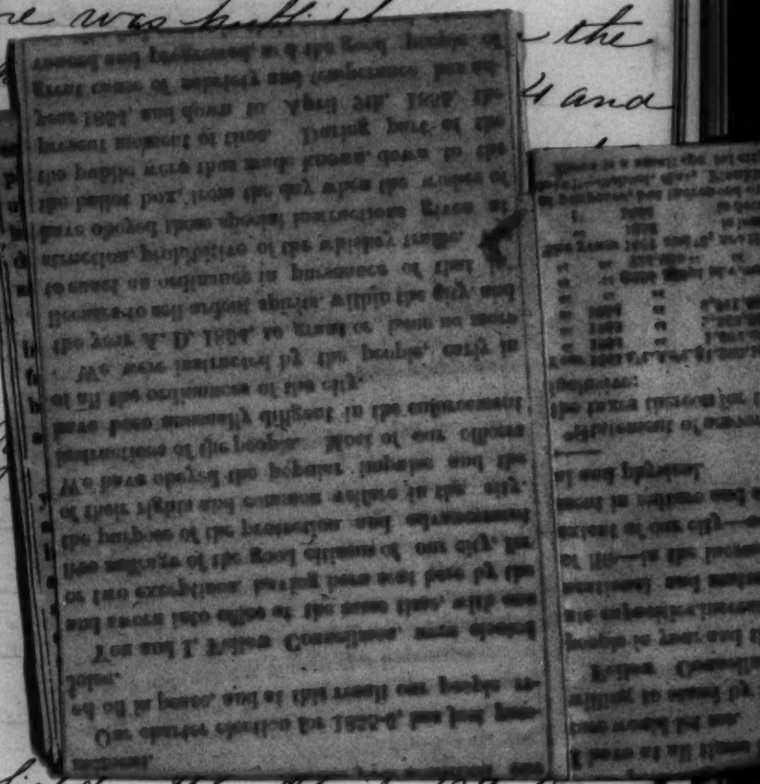
Our Legislature has paped a Maine law - I am for it as you may suppose - to take effect if People vote for it. I think they will. They will north and here. but Egypt - good gracious! Paped or about to pas a law to give the Blacks their tax money to appropriate to Schools as our law does not allow Blacks to come to School with whites.

After your trial is over. I hope you will or others will publish in book form the Speeches made for you and the Evidence in your case - or containing the whole case. and Sen

Herndon out to the world.

I have not two of your Speeches or Sermons made in New York. I think in N. Y. and would like to have them very much. One was [illegible] the Times Sometime in [illegible] and the other I have heard [illegible] me. I will pay you for [illegible]

I am [illegible] this letter out get I have [illegible]



Private.

Springfield, Ill. April 12th 1855.

Friend Parker.

Dear Sir.

Some few days since I sent you a small pamphlet on temperance. I herewith send you a little Speech of mine. Put them by for the present and read them at your leisure. I know your trial takes up your time. To expect otherwise would be foolish

Our State Register - Slavcite - whiskey paper attacked our prohibitory law and it was called on to defend. We commenced a controversy and it

Herndon ended at page 14. You will soon see the reasons. Hern

I was not careful after that – in fact I was in Court and could not be careful – had too much to do. The people around me would make me publish in pamphlet form The Editors published of their own accord.

I never saw the proofs of the original writing. Blunders you will excuse.

I pray for your complete acquittal and justification. triumph &c. &c. in your trial.

Yours Truly.

W. H. Herndon.

Springfield. Ill. April 23rd 1855.

Dear Sir

Let me congratulate you upon your escape from the inquisition of Slavery. Every man is happy at the result – breathes a little freer

Let me say to you that it was not Curtis who quashed the indictment. but the King South. The South are not fools. They see which way the wind blows. and have done this out of fear. Fear and interest are some men's patriotism – Chivalry – all.

I sent you some time since a small

Herndon. pamphlet on temperance - a small speech - a small leader in one of our dailies, and here with I send another. I will trouble you no more.

I did these things to let you know that so far as I could do good, I was doing. This grand outrage on Kansas will ring in the ears of this dead nation yet - I think the North is yet to wake and breathe.

Yours truly,

W. H. Herndon.

P. S. Mistakes in printers - Carelessness you must overlook. Mr Parker, if you see any expressions in those pieces which are yours in essence, remember you impressed the hard steel upon a softer plate. ? softer plate

Springfield, Ill. October 30. 1855.

Dear Sir.

It has been some time since I wrote to you, and you can well afford to be "pestered" once in a long while. This is especially so from your western friend.

First:

We in Illinois are now just commencing a systematic organization of Republicanism and hope to see it inaugurated into a vital, eternal, political power in the State, which

Herndon.

shall cover us as Nature wraps up her modest flower or gigantic mountains. In this part or central portion of the State, we are backward, timid and cowardly. The reason is this; most of us are from the South and I among them, yet so far as the Slavery question is concerned we are most emphatically opposed to it, its aggressions, or its spread. Another cause is, that our able politicians are waiting to see the reverse side and the obverse picture and because they flinch or drawback; the people are not disposed to move, but it strikes me there was or is no better time than last year or this; because I instinctively feel, if not see, that the people are ready and anxious to leap into an organization that has justice and equity wrought into a vital activity.

This is the scrupulous, timid fault of our politicians, who are seeking equilibrium, they know not where. And the people, who are accustomed to be led and not to lead, do not want to go forward; and so between the cowardice of some and the want of confidence in others, this political rest or static power in the mass, follows. I hope to see them dynamical - vital - active. So on.

Mr Douglas was here a few weeks since and addressed us in one of his Spe

known for power of a peculiar nature; namely, energy, duplicity and dexterity, driven by an abandon - fired by rum: - in short, a low, base, hellish effort at renaissance. It may be seen in his face, that conscious ruin has seized him and like Milton's hero in Paradise Lost he will do all he can to regain his blissful seat. You can picture the sight. You may think I hate the man: I can say I do not; yet I loathe him, and I cannot help it. If I love man, his progress; if I look upward and onward, and hope for man, let me ask you the question: How can I do otherwise? Has he not tried to sell me and man - in the individual and species, to this same slave power which I hate and yet fear; and if this is so, how can I help my feelings? Mr Douglas is generally followed by Lyman Trumbull, his equal in many particulars, but not in the law specialties. Mr Lincoln sometimes follows. Illinois is the battle ground for the slave power and for the Republicans too. Here is to be the fight.

Mr Giddings was here soon after Mr Douglas, and spoke in the Metropolitan Hall, yet he did not speak with eloquence or power. He spoke very calmly and truthfully, but for the crowd, it was not what it ought to be.

I suppose he was cramped, not knowing how to feel out for the sentiment in the map. I may be mistaken, but I do candidly believe the Speakers miss the mark, by shooting too low — under the cup in the target, and therefore do not win. Excuse the western figure. There is a great ground swell — an under current — a wave from the Infinite. the older politicians do not feel as it seems to me

We had Henry Ward Beecher here a few nights since; he is a man. He spoke upon the progressive and conservative man or age. and if I know what eloquence, not of the highest and grandest order, is, he certainly had it. He was intense in his passages of Sympathy and energetic in his reprobation of Conservative cowardice; and as a general rule, his views were correct, just and lofty; yet it seemed to me he hung fire — did not say all he felt. Is he not of your faith and is he not too cowardly to come out — speak out like a brave man? It seems to me so. He will do good; he looks a good man and I suppose his Heaven warrant does not deceive. The crowd was wrapped up in H. Ward Beecher. He is hopeful — somewhat Ideal.

As I wrote to you once before, we got badly beaten in our Temperance

Herndon

move, and the reason is:— that human rights float in the bubbles of whiskey, which swim upon the fire surface. Though defeated we are not conquered. It is very hard to overcome interest, appetite, habit and the low demagogue who rules the Synod in the grocery.

I am glad to see Mr Sumner, publishing his 3d. vol. of Speeches. They are eloquent, chaste classic. I admire Mr Sumner very much: he is a man all over inward outward — from head to foot. I speak of him at a distance, for I am not personally acquainted with him. I see that Emerson is publishing his English notes: they will be a rich treat to us young men; they will be eloquent and grand poetic ideal.

I sometime since got your two recent volumes of Speeches &c. and the one at Abingdon is a prophecy fulfilled — the Tribune is exactly where it was placed — Kansas in that or another is placed where it was predicted Slavery by Judicial legerdemain is sought to be made national. Will it triumph? The Spirit within says no. Has not Slavery gone too far done too much — been too impetuous? I think it has. Let it die and rot in the tropic heats.

Yours
W. H. Herndon

Herndon.

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Yours
W. H. Herndon

We had Mr Mitburn, the blind preacher here last night and will have him again to-night. Subjects. Young America — the rifle, axe and Saddle-bags. He Speaks handsomely truthfully. Can you not come and see Illinois Some time this winter and give us a Lecture or So? I think we can give you a good house for some nights. Friend Greeley did well here. Beecher did well. Can you not come out.

H. H. H.

Springfield, Ill. Feb'y 16. 1856

Dear Sir.

I received your kind favor some time Since, and would have answered, but was busy in our Supreme Court, attending to business.

I hardly think with you in respect to the action of the North. My opinion is, that the North will now endure no more of Southern insolence and wrong; and further I think I Know the Southern Blood, and from that knowledge, I Know they will — when the fighting point comes; — Cringe and crawl away. They can bluster and swagger, but there is an unboastful, serene calmness in

Clendon.

Northern bravery which paralyzes their hatred and inflated courage. I have been a boy, and have often quailed before this Spirit. This is universal to all men, and the South are no exception to the universals of humanity. I am proud of my adopted Section, for her philosophical mathematic courage, that knows no cold no heat, but eternal justice. The North, thank the Stars are erect, i. e. men of the North, showing they have not forgotten principles, the only thing that is permanent & beautiful: all else rots in time.

I think the action and courage exhibited in the election of Banks shew which way we may now look for true moral courage. I think the charm is shivered "like thin glass". The prestige of the South is gone, and I pray God never to return. Her institutions are wrong - radically unjust - Heaven defying; and if this recent Lesson can teach her only justice to the North, and the rights of Man, I will be more than pleased. Another illustration is the men of Lawrence: their coolness, bravery, and a sense of justice, awed a drunken rabble, incited by a drunken politician. The North are up.

I hate Slavery: one word: long years ago did it. My father was asked in my presence

Herndon why he left Virginia, and then Kentucky:-
He answered: "that my labor shall never be degraded by competition with Slave labor." I must however confess that it - the hate grows - develops as principles are understood. as duty and obligation to humanity are opened to me - as my Soul expands to its responsibilities. I once said to you that I did not go so far as some did. I move - not backwards. Is there any safe, just, everlasting position this side of principle? Where is that point? Shall it stop with clap? Shall it like truth shut the universe of man? These are questions which stare a man in the face.

I love the South. and cannot help it: there is something open, manly, chivalrous to draw me. But I hope I can draw a line between an institution and men. From my own knowledge, there are a great number of men in the South, that silently pray for Northern success - dare not say it aloud. Not only the poor whites, but many others who are rich, but do not and will not own Slaves, are with us in feeling. I know this. I have heard them curse us Northern men most heartily when we would "cave in" as they called it. Let me say here: that in so saying they would look around the room to see if any Spies were listening or if any hired negro

Herndon.

heard it. Slavery is the most terrible thing in the world. I say that I love the South, and will never injure her. I love her men and cannot help it. I can draw a distinction between her citizens and her institutions.

When I wrote to you to come out here and lecture I did not know you were in Chicago, but learned so in a few days after I wrote. I was really sorry when I received the news of your prior engagements. I hope you will come out in October or November. 1856. and talk to us. We, the citizens, intend to try to engage some of the best men to lecture here this next fall or winter. This feat was tried on an Orthodox scale. You may know how it ended.

Do you think that Mexico will fall into our hands about 1860? I think not: my reasons in short are, - the northern courage shown this winter throughout the free States, has rather taken the Southern men aback, and they will not move in the matter till we forget our triumphs in our lethargy. The policy of the South will be for years, fawning - flattery - corrupting, till her day comes again, and then "She will do her best." If this policy is not pursued the Union will be dissolved, and a Southern Confederacy will be formed: then the South may absorb Mexico - not this Union so

soon as 1860. However our present energy and intensity may fade away before 1860. and then you may be correct. I paid attention to what you said. This part of your letter came near being forgotten and therefore the quick cut off over another half sheet.

Henry Ward Beecher is a decidedly new man - a new species of man. He is strong, vigorous, original - brave. He will do the world good yet. He is a new rose, fresh from the garden of the Almighty forces. This age was fortunate in having so beautiful a present. He is a man - "a fresh man too." I received your defence and have carefully read it: it is good; it is didactic but powerful; it will live. It may say way down the ages, "I still live": when it is yet fresh not on a death bed. Hope to see your work soon on "Religious development" - hope to see Emmerson's English Traits soon. Comes slowly.

W. H. Herndon.

Springfield, Ill. April 26. 1851

Friend.

I received yours a few days since. I had

Herndon

an idea that you were immersed in your pursuits. I had every reason to know this – to know it had been – was so now. I therefore excuse you with pleasure. However I did not write to you – except collaterally – for compliments. I asked a question in my last two letters. The question was this: What time is the best for a man – Sucker – to come East and see the world of matter and man. In your hurry you overlooked the Substance and took up the incident. This I forgive. You are a pretty good judge of what – as a general rule – the young want: – in my case a little mistaken – not much. Let us be candid. Your compliment did me no harm, but great good. I do love the approbation of good men – none others are sought for approbation. I hope to live to see the day when I can make Slavery feel my influence. That shall be the one object of my life. It and myself are enemies. I am feeble: it is strong, yet I am right and it is wrong: Nature – eternal truth, is with me: error is with it. Thus we stand. I am. I hope half brave – it is a coward. The end is seen.

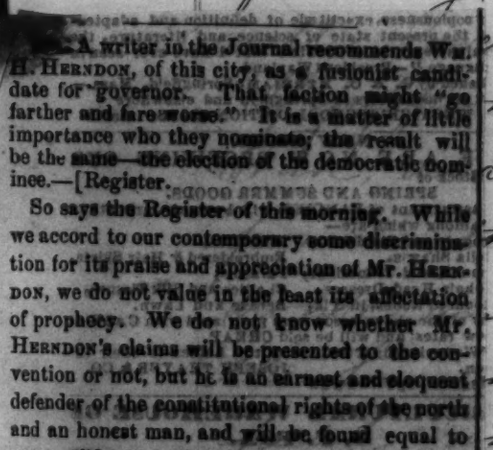
Do not understand me to say that I will live to see Slavery abolished and that I will do it. I hope with others, to sow the Elements, whose immanent – inherent power will do it after, probably long after my death.

Herndon.

I told you long since, that the great fault of politicians was in not following the people, or in not speaking for principle — that the People were correct — their grand intuitions were almost always correct; and I will here detail a case. I, about two or three weeks since, made a Speech in Atlanta, Logan Co. Spoke for 2 1/4 hours to a large crowded house Say 700 or 800 — filled with men — women, God bless the women, and young men and pretty girls; and if I ever did a Subject justice, in my poor way, I did it then and there. I took open, broad, deep, antagonistic ground against Slavery every where on God's habitable globe. I really expected to be hissed, but my words were warm, intense — hot from an impassioned nature. The crowd saw it — saw my nervous excitement — my thrill — listened to me and really respected me more, ten thousand times more, than a milk and cider affair. I never saw a more exultant crowd in my life. Well, I shall say no more for fear you do not know me. Now what was the result of all this. In a few days after landing at home I found a complimentary — most encouraging letter, asking my name or its use as a candidate for Governor. I herewith send you a small slip of paper. The first article is from our State Regis-

Herndon.

the paper which is my life-long enemy- political- have none other that I know of: the second piece is from the Journal - the paper I used to write for - been kicked off, as it became Know nothing. I have nothing to do with it now, nor for months. Get you can see what you see. I do not want office - even could I get it; but the illustration I want to make is, that Politicians want boldness - want manliness - want principle. When I say the letter followed me, I mean to say it was published a few days after my return. I never saw the letter till published



A writer in the Journal recommends Wm. H. Herndon, of this city, as a fusionist candidate for governor. That faction might "go farther and fare worse." It is a matter of little importance who they nominate; the result will be the same—the election of the democratic nominee.—[Register.

So says the Register of this morning. While we accord to our contemporary some discrimination for its praise and appreciation of Mr. Herndon, we do not value in the least its affectation of prophecy. We do not know whether Mr. Herndon's claims will be presented to the convention or not, but he is an earnest and eloquent defender of the constitutional rights of the north and an honest man, and will be found equal to any position to which the people may call him. In the midst of so many good, conservative and national men in the ranks of the anti-Nebraska party "it may be of minor importance who they nominate, as the result will be the same"—not however as the Register men would have it, but a triumphant victory over the Compromise breaking and slavery extension Democracy.—From present appearances the Douglas faction will agree upon Mr. Murray McConnel of Jacksonville as their candidate for governor. We do not know where they could go and fare half so well as with such a man for their leader.

consent to be a candidate for anything. nal men - all men, would only be ke the spontaneous slumberings of human he inward divinity - and follow it - d educate the grandest intentions of n Soul - then would all Tyrants nd nothing stand between man God, but the limitations immanent man. I hope to see things go progres t path, and the day may come, if this nocracy get the helm of affairs, when that he object for which legislators and others d all their forces. Excuse me. I am on the eve of going off on business - to talk for man.

Your Friend,

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Herndon.

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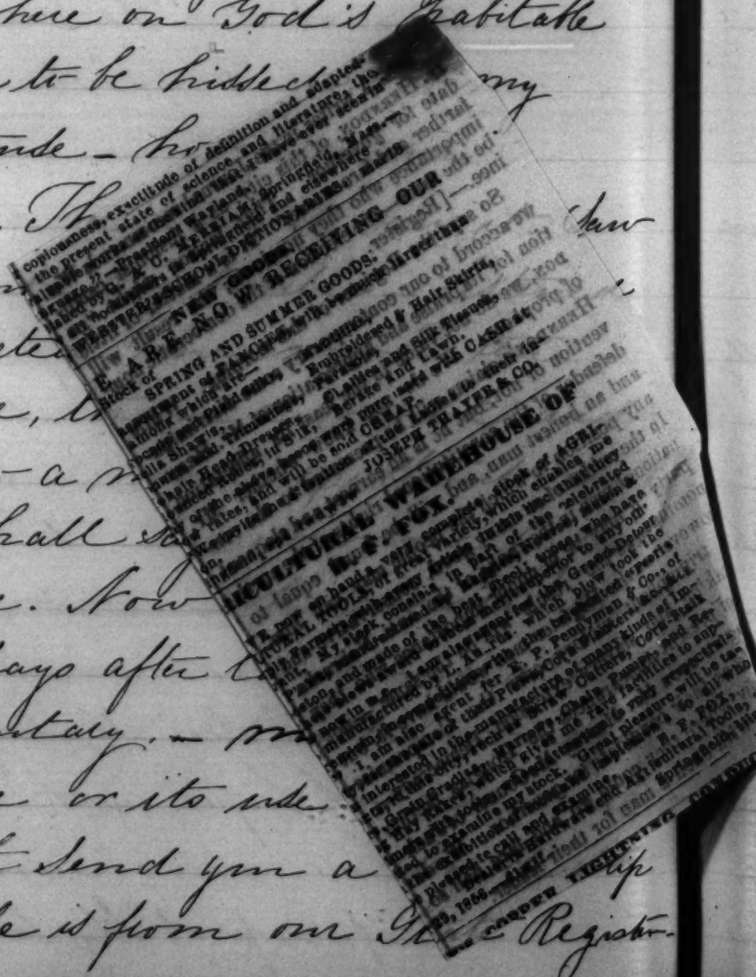

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piece is from the Journal - the paper I used
to write for - been kicked off, as it became
Know nothing. I have nothing to do with it
now, nor for months. Get you can see what you
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will never consent to be a candidate for anything.
If professional men - all men, would only be
brave, awake the spontaneous slumberings of human
power - the inward divinity - and follow it -
arouse and educate the grandest intuitions of
the human Soul - then would all Tyrants
perish, and nothing stand between man
and his God, but the limitations immanent
in the human. I hope to see things progress
along that path, and the day may come, if this
New Democracy get the helm of affairs, when that
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Your Friend.

W. H. Herndon.

Herndon.

Need not answer - got other to do so.

Private - except to your particular friends.

W. H. H.

Springfield. Ill. Nov. 12. 1856.

Mr Parker.

Dear Sir.

Enclosed is a letter from Mr Post: he made the arrangements with Mr Wells of Chicago in reference to your lecture. You will see what he says; and then you can throw the blame where it justly belongs. Had you spoken to me the night I left you at the tavern, and told me how this matter stood, I should have felt much better than I did after you went away. I regret all this proceeding very much; yet I do not know where I am to blame. I hope you will have the goodness to separate me from the "mass". You have been shamefully wronged by some one. By the by did not H. Ward Beecher have a difficulty with Mr Wells? What say you - will you place me right in your estimation, if you can?

When here you told me you intended so soon as you could, to give four lectures - One on Washington - one on Jefferson - one on Franklin and one on Adams. I hope you may do this, and do it as speedily as your good

Herndon.

[redacted]

The [redacted] Wm. H. Herndon, Fremont Elector for this district, made one of the most eloquent and convincing speeches which has been delivered during the present campaign. He manifested a thorough knowledge of the questions in issue, and showed up the gross and alarming heresies of the nigger driving Democracy with a point and emphasis that told with powerful effect. Mr. Herndon has, during the canvass now closing, delivered numerous addresses throughout Middle Illinois, and has done glorious service in the people's cause. After M. H. concluded, he was followed by a brief speech from the Hon. A. Lincoln, who made a candid appeal to every opponent of the sham Democracy to cast his vote for Fremont and Dayton, Bissell and Wood, and the whole Anti-Nebraska ticket. The meeting gave renewed determination to the true men of Springfield and vicinity. Oct 29

to: they are needed. Can they not another - Say on "the History of from Greece - Rome - Germany - gland down to us?

We are defeated for President have elected our whole State ement - Republican ticket for te. This is glory enough for reproof - a burning - blasting censure to Douglas and Richardson; they are politically dead; compensation will follow; hell - let this word stand - will get two sweet morsels when they go - if they do go. We Fremont men feel as if victory perched on our banner.

Yours Friend
W. H. Herndon.

Springfield, Ill. Nov. 11. 1856.

Mr Parker.

I was the person who made arrangements with Mr E. S. Wells to have you lecture here. There was nothing said about the price - no amount was agreed to or suggested

Herbert Post.

Need not answer - got other to do so.

Herndon. Private - except to your particular friends.

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gement dictates: they are needed. Can they not be prefaced with another - say on "the History of Liberty" running from Greece - Rome - Germany Francee and England down to us?

We are defeated for President in Illinois; but have elected our whole State ticket - a pure Fremont - Republican ticket for offices of this State. This is glory enough for Illinois: it is a reproof - a burning - blasting censure to Douglas and Richardson; they are politically dead; compensation will follow; hell - let this word stand - will get two sweet morsels when they go - if they do go. We Fremont men feel as if victory perched on our banner.

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Herbert Post.

Herndon.

Springfield. Ill. December 27. 1856.

Dear Sir.

I received your letter in answer to mine, directed to you at Boston, and for which I am under many obligations to you. In yours you approve my conduct in reference to the cause of Freedome in Illinois, during the late presidential race. I tried to do my duty and spoke always from a high and elevated stand point. If I did not persuade every body I at least taught some that there was such a thing as Justice - Right - that there was an Ideal always floating close to Man, but ever moving towards God. I urged the young men to struggle for that point where the Ideal and the actual are -

When I wrote to you some years since you must have thought I was crazy in stating to you that I intended to sow seeds which should never die. Now let me state to you what I did - what I acted. and then you may pronounce "guilty" or "not guilty" of rashness.

Firstly: I collected some two or three hundred dollars and sent this on to the Republican association and other plaas, and purchased documents, Speeches - books &c.

Herndon.

and scattered them among our people. I did this alone.

Secondly: I commenced early in 1834 in our County and spoke on every Stump and in every church and School house therein and thus carried our County by a larger majority than ever before.

Thirdly; I commenced early in March 1836, and spoke upon an average twice a week in almost every part of our wide extended State - spoke to tens and to ten thousand at once - crowds varied in other words from ten to ten thousand. I always spoke feelingly - earnestly - with force - though I say it myself.

Fourthly: I turned my Office into a kind of war office - took the young, active, vigorous, honest young men there and talked to them - got them to take an interest that they would not have otherwise done in favor of human liberty - human rights - in short humanity.

Fifthly: You know my position here, I suppose, as a lawyer and as a man; and if I had any earthly influence, let me assure you that I moved this clap as intensely as I could. I did some good even in this department - the Law - of frigid conservatism

Herndon.

Sixthly: When I met a young man of my profession who had high hopes - who was pure - who had an ideal of the perfection of purposes who was really religious in God's view of actual religion I gave him a list of books and made him buy them. You know probably what I recommended and whose books.

Mr Parker, these are facts and not immaginations of things which were dreamed or in paroxysms of ecstasy hoped. These I state to you as facts - Solid, living breathing, vitaliging beings - acts and by them I will stand; and by which I am willing to be judged.

If these things, with others which I cannot now oppress, do not amount to Sowing seeds that will never die, - then I Stated to you a falsehood; though not intentionally done. The ability Simply fell Short of the hopes.

In your last letter to me you Stated you regretted your Lecture here more on account of the absence of an audience than most any thing else. This I regretted as much as you did; yet let me State to you that I think it Sprung from no ill will to you; but arose from a complication of facts.

Herndon.

I had hoped to have a long chat with you on the evening you were here, and to state to you things as they exist west and which you will scarcely get unvarnished for a long time to come; but an unexpected misunderstanding came over us and cut me through; thus depriving me of the pleasure. This may however be to your advantage - to your gain. I could not sit still in your presence - nor in any other persons, and be fretted like an annoyed child without knowing whence came the trouble. I always escape from so unpleasant a situation. I was at that time worn down, having spoken I think nearly a hundred times. was not well - had neglected my person - my clothes - my home - office - all, all - and I suppose I did not cut a very handsome figure before you. I regret but could not do otherwise. Friend pardon all - forget and forgive - remember alone the good - the motives and intentions.

Yours Truly
W. H. Herndon

Give my best respects to your friend Wendell Phillips and tell him to publish his Speeches by all means.

Herndon.

Springfield. Ill. Jannaly 24th
1857.

Friend Parker.

Dear Sir.

We have jist heard that Hon. Charles Sumner has been redected to the United States Senate. by the Legislature of Old Massachusetts. God bless her. Let me congratulate you; and Humanity through you, upon this great event in the History of the of Liberty. Humanity can be reached only through the individual - I use you. May Sumner live - May you live; - he Senatorially and you ministerially, to Strike the last link, and Shiver it too, from the last Slave that breathes the free air of heaven. Your letter to me, Some time Since, and your letter to the Anti. Slavery Convention, I am reflecting on. Enough of politics now.

I am this moment in my Office - bodily Sir: yet I am in the woods. I got tired of town and books; and so I thought I would take a ramble in the forests with my dog and gun, and See what I could see. The day is very cold - So cold that the frozen particles of water in the air - the frost glitter like millions of Small fire

globes blazing in the air. The keen wind whips around the sharp corners of the hills, cold, yet I press on to the place of game and sport. I am now deep in the woods, and stealthily creep along beneath the underbrush, now moving this bush - now that limb, that impedes my way, first with my right hand and then with my left. Man is the lord of all he surveys! He is King! and yet he bows humbly to the outstretched arm of briar and bush. Great lord - he! After travelling thus two or three miles through out dense woods and underbrush I became somewhat fatigued and sate down on a log, and commenced looking objectively at Nature. The air is exceedingly cold and Winter seems to be throwing her frosty bolts on the heart of the live fresh oak to keep it from death till Spring. The trees pop, crack - crack - pop all around me; and the few little birds that are about lie low - keep close to the ground. The forest trees stand out boldly against the infinite blue. look shrivelled in their "cold and naked Anatomy" Stole this from you I think. Before me stands a large black oak, probably a thousand years old, and up and down its trunk runs - skips - hops, a little tom - tit - a small speckled bird, about as big as a Canary - now running vertically up and down now laterally around, peeping into the thick

bark i. e, into the deep crevices of the thick bark, to see if it cannot find the larvae of bug or insect, or a Stray berry which some unfortunate bird has forgotten - or has not yet needed. This little bird is a great rogue. He has two equally long claws before and behind; and so it is adapted to go up or down or around; he is a cute little rogue. His voice seems to say chick, quit - chick quit. He found nothing and has flown. I see at some distance from me a tolerable large black-jack hickory bush; it has very large. hibernacles for the leaf. gum, and I want to see into them. In going to the tree through the bushes and snow it looks a little ahead of me, and in a small bunch of dry grass sits a rabbit. Snug and warm. Timid little fellow - do not move - free from harm so far as my gun or I am concerned; but as to the dog, little fellow, take care of yourself. The dog is behind me and yet I can see - he has thrown his head to the wind - that he has caught the scent, and we shall have a chase. Sure enough, the rabbit bounds and the dog - yelps hot - after him -; they lounge down a small slope and up a little elevation - down an other hollow, and are out of my sight. After a few seconds I hear the dog bark, and I pap over to the place as soon as posible; and when I get there,

Herndon.

I find the rabbit has "holed", "treed" and the dog is scratching at the roots of the tree; he digs hard and quick as if eager for his prey. I speak to the dog - saying, "you have got him - have you"? He looks up and says to me - "Dear Master, take him out for me do take him out - I want him so bad". The dog looks pleading and coaxingly friendly.

"I feel as if I would accomodate you my good kind dog, and yet the feelings of the rabbit must be consulted". I paced around the tree, seeing that the first had put its signet upon the earth - way and on the opposite side of the tree found a hole, and ran my arm in and felt the rabbit. I let it alone and called off my dog, and paced along up the creek, forgetting my hibernacle philosophy - will do so at some other time.

I went to the creek and cut me a small hole in the ice - in a ripple - and stooped down to drink; and about this time some small little fishes caught the thrill of an air hole and came to it, and there they and I had fun: they would struggle with each other as to their right of air, but as with men, the "biggest" and cruellest took the day; here goes a little chub; he has got mad and sulky.

and So he goes off and ponts and threats. They all move, not as in Summer, quick and flashing; but dull, heavy and not beautiful as in Spring. As many as can, hover around the hole, but soon, cold and cruel winter, will seal the window with bar of Spectra and Shutter of Solid ice. Good bye, my little fish - we will see each other again soon. "Providence" be with you - Fare thee well.

I am now on the ice going down the creek to Sangamon river, about 3 miles from town, where I expect to find game. On my way down, on the ice, I see little tracks of wood - mice; criping the creek on the Snow and ice. The little fellow's legs are too Short to reach to the ice through the Snow; and So they make a track - a path rather, with their whole body, Still leaving a Small impression with the feet. Here Stands a large Snag in the ice, leaning at about the angle of 45° east, and the Snow for Some yards has been blown from the ice, leaving a clear path west of the Snag the wind having blown from the East. For many yards I can See the diverging paths of the wind, widening every inch from the tree or trunk of a tree, until wholly lost by cros currents, and its own failing power. This is Curious to Study, it is worthy of Study, the laws of winds - if

Herndon.

they have any laws, can here be seen in some of their manifestations. Is there any law in anything - in substance or Spirit or rather matter or spirit? Are there any laws in Material Nature? Is not the idea of Law an abstraction. Man acts like man not because it is the nature of man to do so; but because he is man. Whose is any law? Show me. Every thing is a law unto itself - matter and man - fish and bird.

We will quit philosphy now. I pick up my gun from the snow and ice and pad along to the field of Sport. I have now gone two or three miles, and way down the creek, is croping some animal and I will "put him through", if he is of the right Species; but if not eatable, it and my dog for it. I walk on and the thing proves to be an old he ground-hog - rather a hard customer for a common dog. He is smart; he "holes", or I should have assisted any dog - if necessary. These ground-hogs are a thick, heavy-made animal, weighing about 15. pounds - long - not active - powerful tough - broad teeth before, like a bears, for cutting roots in burrowing; they are tolerably long-lived useless creatures; - looking out of human eyes, when I say this. My dog whines at the hole in the bank and repeats to me his request that I

Herndon.

"twist" it out: he looks up to me with his large gray intelligent eye, and asks me to a pist him; but I can do him no good - take a day to get to it. "Come on Cato - let us go and leave the worthless thing to his fate" he whines a little but gives it up and comes along ready for sport. &c . . * * * *

O what a change - all - all - for the better! Go on man and may you see what an other has said - a day when the State shall be without a King - Society without an aristocracy - a church without a priest and a family without a Slave.

Yours truly
W. H. Herndon.

Springfield. Ill. February 1857

Friend.

I am troublesome I know, yet I am bothered, and want to free myself, if I can. I have an idea, that there are no laws in nature as usually understood and suppose I infer this much from your three most excellent sermons on Providence". I had this opinion sometime since; but re-read your sermons to fortify or disprove my positions.

* * * * * * * * * *

Herndon.

Come and let us leap up into the air and rest upon the spongy foundation, and there let us see Satellite, planet, & Sun - Sea - air, and land - What do you see? Co-existences - powers and forces - man and consciously God - no laws; but all - all governed by constant modes of operation - God the immediate cause - This is by philosophy. Am I wrong? I do not belong to the Sensational school - at least do not know it. I would say to the Philosopher "Drive the ultimates upwards and downwards around the circle till they meet in God - all our debate."

Yours Truly.

W. H. Herndon.

Springfield, Ill. March 10. 1837.

Dear Sir.

The import of your letter to me dated Nov. 1836. just after the Presidential Election - rises up in its importance and becomes more plain, as the coin in it is heated before the fiery logic of sweeping events. Those three propositions stand out prominently - boldly; 1. that "he who reads may run". There is no use in longer concealing from you the terrible events which are to come. I understand that the South are determined to bend the North or break us in the

attempt. They are evidently presenting this alternative - Slavery for the whole race of man in time - or freedom to every man of that race. I had always dreamed that this question would wall off, and get more dim, and less trouble in the distance. Some what like a mirage when approached, Slipping along over the Sandy desert, just before the Thirsty Soul. But I am now beginning to be undeceived. I am not faith-ridden in this idea any longer. God preserve the Free and the Just! Since I have written you a political letter three grand events, for the pro-Slavery party, have happened - Firstly, the Election of James Buchanan; - Secondly, the new quarrels in Kansas; and, thirdly, the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on the "Dred Scott" Case. * * * * *

What shall be done? How do it? Shall bloody, deadly - internecine - Savage civil war wipe out error from the "black board" of this democratic School-house; or shall the lesson be carved deeply in it, to be read by noble youths, as they Shall Spring on the Stand in after ages - What Say you?

Your Friend
W. H. Herndon

Herndon.

Springfield. Ill. March 30. 1837.

Dear Friend.

Yours of March 17. is this moment at hand; and written as it informs me by the delicate hand of your wife. Had it been more lengthy I should have preserved it during life, but as it is I thank her and you for it. I hope you will soon recover and be well and vigorous again. I want that vigor, like a vital battery, to play upon the fortifications of creeping, approaching despotism. I have tremblingly, throbingly and as rationally, and as cautiously as I could, turned and returned, split and divided - analyzed and compounded this question - the Slave question; and I see no way open but cowardice in the North - a "back down" in the South or - open, bloody, civil war. It is horrible. You will excuse my timidity now and heretofore, as you are aware that almost all my relations live in the South - that that is my native country - my child - home. If, however, the worst comes I hope to act the part of a man - not cruelly, but firmly in humanity. * * * * * * * * * *

Yours truly

W. H. Herndon.

Springfield. April 8th 1857.

Dear Sir.

* * * * * * * * *

Thank God! the chains are rusted and clacking! Those are noble boys in St Louis; they are Yankees mostly and Kyo. The Germans here are throwing high their hats: the Irish crouch and cower:- they see their fate written on the wall. * * *

We had an election here on yesterday and it turned out as follows: the Republicans were wholly defeated: we quarrelled over Temperance we ran some K. N.'s, and the Dutch to a man voted against this proceeding; we are whipped badly. I opposed all the whisky issues - the K. N.'s but could do no good. We have learned a good lesson - do better next time.

I had this morning a most excellent "chat" with the Rev. Mr Finly of this State. about colonization. He is a very fine man - ideas as clear as a bell: his ideas are that the niggers are doomed to wane off South gradually. He sees the Virginia moves and Wisconsin moves in no other light than a move of the Emancipationists.

I had a very - most entertaining conversation on yesterday with one of the leading

emancipationists of Missouri — and one of the leading Republicans of this State. Do not ask who they are — will tell you all about it ere long. This was the substance of it — The Missouri Democrat is to open and bloom for Republicanism in 1860; — the Louisville Journal is to follow, and some paper in Virginia is to fall into the trail, all of which is, as it were, to happen accidentally. The Democrat is simply to suggest — the Journal is to suggest still stronger, and at last all are to open wide for Republicanism. As these two men said — "We are to see the Devil in these border States in 1860." These two men are more than ordinary men — the conversation was in my office, and I suppose was confidential therefore I keep dark and request you to do so, on the Missouri man's account — do n't care for the Illinois man. You know the Ill. man.

My little girl knew I was writing to you. She came here to beg me for a drive — She sends you her respects.

Yours Truly
W. H. Herndon.

Springfield. Ill. May: 14. 1857.

Dear Sir.

* * *. Since the decision in the "Dred Scott case" I have been among our

people a great deal, and I can say to you that none like it, and some have been so bold - democrats - as to repudiate the Court and party. They stand up this day freemen in the best sense of the term, defying party hacks and throwing off old party associations.

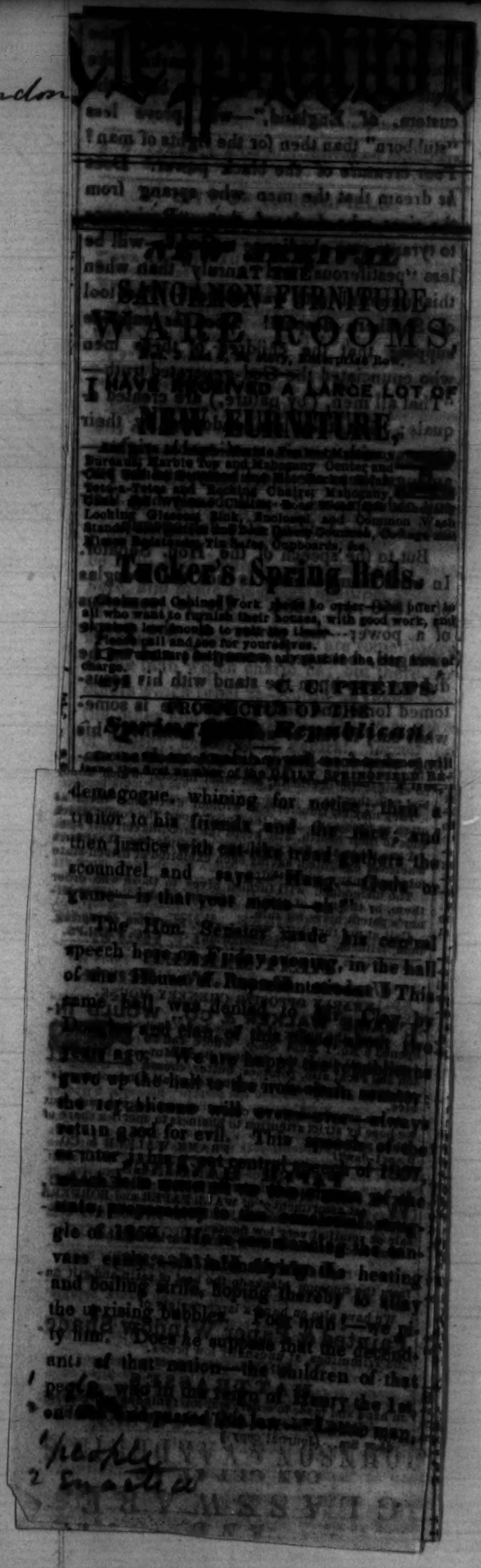
Since I wrote to you - I think I was then in Court - I have conversed with many of my profession, and they sent the Court and the reasons of the decision. This decision has hurt the Court very much - has hurt the nigger-driving Democracy. Has not the Stand Curtis has taken aided his waning popularity - his doubtful position? I think the nigger-driving Court, and the persecutions of the Southern pups will drive Curtis to be an abolitionist, if such a thing can possibly be. You know the result better, than I do or can.

* * * * *

My first love is God - then man - then Nature.

Yours Truly
W. H. Herndon.

Herndon



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And have on hand Marble Top and Mahogany Center and Bureau; Marble Top and Mahogany Center and Card Tables; Ottomans and Sofa Bedsteads; Sofas, Tete-a-Tete and Rocking Chairs; Mahogany, Rose and Winesor Chairs; Rose Wood and Mahogany Looking Glasses; Sink, Enclosed and Common Wash Stands; Secretaries and Book Cases; Common, Cottage and Mineu Bedsteads; Tin Safes, Cupboards, &c.

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Please call and see for yourselves.

Goods delivered in the city free of charge.

my1 C. C. PHELPS.

PROSPECTUS OF THE
Springfield Republican.

On the 9th day of February, 1857, the undersigned will issue the first number of the DAILY SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN. In making this announcement, it is due our readers that we should state the objects we seek, and the aim and intention of this new and untried enterprise. Firstly, as the name of our paper imports, it will be REPUBLICAN—*Republican now, Republican forever*—seeking no by-paths and devious ways, courting the favor of neither the rich or great, uncrushed by power—unawed by fear, we will do our whole duty, and press unceasingly on in the conflict between Freedom and Slavery, making our paper an organ worthy of the *name*, as well as *the confidence and support of the true* Republican party of the State of Illinois, and we confidently look to them to support and aid us unto ultimate victory. We also wish it distinctly understood, that we are *not* the organ of any *moneyed, aristocratic clique*, on the contrary, we design making our sheet the organ of the laboring and working classes. Believing "that all men are created and equal," we shall recognize no aristocracy except of *worth*; no merit except of *honesty* and *manhood*. The interests and wants of the working classes in Springfield will find in us a bold and fearless exponent, an uncompromising enemy to every form and species of despotism over the minds or bodies of mankind."

We do *not* design making our paper exclusively a "*literary and news journal*," for we have a higher object to obtain—a nobler work to perform—a work more worthy our attention, consideration and efforts. Now that the battle has been so nearly won, is no time for us to sink our arms, lay our armor down and enjoy a dishonorable peace. As long as the sham, slave-driving black democracy retain one foothold of our fair country, so long shall we battle with them for supremacy. We need no such peace. "Gentlemen, may cry, peace, peace, but there is no peace;" and we fervently trust there will not be, until the banner of eternal liberty shall wave in spotless folds over that portion of our native land, that is now and has been "forever dedicated to freedom."

Our paper is clad with an entirely new and beautiful dress, presenting the largest possible amount of reading in the smallest possible space—our type being entirely new from the well known type foundry of Ladew, Fears, & Co; St. Louis—and as often as the convenience of our patrons and the comfort of our readers shall demand, will we supply all the newest and the latest styles of typography, presenting a paper, which for beauty and neatness, shall have no superior in the state.

THE EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

Will be under the charge of a talented and able writer; bold and fearless, to strike in the cause of truth and liberty. Every object of interest transpiring at home and abroad, will receive its due attention at his hands.

As a paper for the HOME CIRCLE, it shall have no superior; containing literary tales, poetry, sketches, letters from correspondents, and whatever else shall make it a welcome and desirable visitor to the mess of newspaper

demagogue, whining for notice; this a traitor to his friends and the race; and then justice with cat-like tread gathers the scoundrel and says: "Hang, Gods of Rome—is that your motto—eh?"

The Hon. Senator made his carnival speech here on Friday evening, in the hall of the House of Representatives. This same hall, was denied [illegible]

gave up the ship to the [illegible]

the republicans will [illegible] always return good for evil. This speech of the [illegible]

[illegible] or 1857, which [illegible]

[illegible] vass [illegible] the heating and boiling strife, hoping thereby to allay the uprising bubbles. Poor man!—we pity him. Does he suppose that the descendants of that nation—the children of that people, who in the reign of Henry the 1st, [illegible] Loco man.

People
2 Enacted

people a great deal, and I can say to you that none like it, and some have been so bold - democrats - as to repudiate the Court and party. They stand up this day freemen in the best sense of the term. defying party hacks and throwing off old party associations.
Since I wrote to you - I think I was then in Court - I have conversed with many of my profession, and they sent the Court and the reasons of the decision. This decision has hurt the Court very much - has hurt the nigger-driving Democracy. Has not the Stand Curtis has taken aided his waning popularity - his doubtful position? I think the nigger-driving Court and the persecutions of the Southern pups will drive Curtis to be an abolitionist, if such a thing can possibly be. You know the result better than I do or can.

* * * * *

My first love is God - then man - then Nature.

Yours Truly
W. H. Herndon.

Herndon

S. H. JAMESON & CO., Editors and Proprietors.
E. H. E. JAMESON, Associate Editor.

CITY OF SPRINGFIELD.
SATURDAY EVENING.....JUNE 20, 1857.

OUR AGENTS.—All Republicans in the state of Illinois are authorized to receive subscriptions for the Daily and Weekly Springfield REPUBLICAN.

WANTED.—Several active and responsible Agents wanted to receive for the Weekly REPUBLICAN. Apply immediately at the counting room of this office.

☞ Single copies of the Daily and Weekly REPUBLICAN with, or without wrappers, can be had at the counting room on the days of publication.

☞ *The Daily Republican has now the largest City circulation of any paper in Springfield!*

THREE—DOUGLAS—PETIT—ROSS.

When shall WE THREE meet again?
In thunder, lightning or in rain.

When those great and good men—those immortal fathers of 1776, had issued the Declaration of Independence—had pledged their lives to its truth and its success—had with humility invoked the protection of Divine Providence, little did they think that the eternal truths of this declaration would be coarsely and meanly attacked by their own children. Little did they dream that after pledging to each other their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honors, as guarantees of their inspired faith, deluged in them by Omnipotence as a living witness of His law of Liberty and Justice, that a man—native men of the land for which they fought—Americans—American aspirants for the Presidency would say, in the face of the civilized world, above the blood of martyred patriots and the tombs of the leaders of the revolution, that the Declaration of Independence was a self-evident lie. But so it is—man has been found to do it—Americans—aspirants have done it, man must fall as the angels fell—man who rebels against God and his laws must fall as did the angel when he got too ambitious—when he tried to supercede the Almighty.

"Him the Almighty power
Hurled headlong flaming from the eternal sky."

Mr. Petit, in the year 1854, a sham democratic Senator, rose up in the United States Senate, and said that the Declaration of American Independence was "a self-evident lie." An itinerant nigger preacher, a sham democratic high priest, so late as 1857—Mr. Ross—says that the Declaration of Independence is absurd; and now, in the month of June, A. D. 1857, here, in this city, Senator Douglas says the declaration of American liberty is UNTRUE; he is polite in his epithets.

We are surprised that Douglas should follow a negro man, a black nigger priest, and pronounce the glorious Declaration of [illegible] political [illegible]

[illegible] The next step [illegible] Senator [illegible] will take [illegible] "The negro is not my equal—all the facts in the universe prove that—now the Declaration of Independence is "inconsistent" with the fact; the facts "supercede it," and the iron-chain democracy will repeal it; and then I will inaugurate a glorious aristocracy of blood—a squatter sovereignty of the divine right of kings to squat down a straddle of the necks of these pretended equals. Slavery is right in principle, and extends to the white race as well as to the black." Mr. Douglas may think that that is not his landing place, but let us assure him and the democracy that another inch that way will finally land them there; there is no escape; there is no dodging—no escaping a principle. A principle is eternally right, or endlessly wrong; it cannot be right to-day and wrong to-morrow. A true principle is as permanent and as grand as the domains of nature.

It was to be hoped, it is to be hoped, that the struggle of '76 will run round the world of man and fill his soul with its spirit and its fire, as the sun floods the earth with light; it was once prayed for, and the prayers were answered by the victories of the Revolution, but that principle is now scoffed, and the God who granted the prayers is wholly repudiated and scorned as being inconsistent with slavery. From the whole course of the universal history of America, we are yet satisfied that the undying principles of the Declaration of American Independence will yet run round and embrace the whole human race, flooding their soul with the spirit of justice to man and liberty to every child of God.

If Mr. Douglas will have these peoples to demonstrate to man the undying faith in the correctness of the Declaration of American Independence; it he will have the universal reason of man to make its oration of eloquence on the bloody battle field in the United States of America, then let him agitate, let him raise the issue, that the Declaration is a lie, and throw himself and his party upon the God of battles and of justice. We do, in the language of the American Independence, believe "These truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;" and believing this—believing that when our fathers said that in "the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honors," that they did believe it—[illegible]

people a great deal, and I can say to you that none like it, and some have been so bold-democrats- as to repudiate the Court and party. They stand up this day freemen in the best sense of the term. defying party hacks and throwing off old party associations.
Since I wrote to you - I think I was then in Court - I have conversed with many of my profession, and they sent the Court and the reasons of the decision. This decision has hurt the Court very much - has hurt the nigger-driving Democracy. Has not the Stand Curtis has taken aided his waning popularity - his doubtful position? I think the nigger-driving Court. and the persecutions of the Southern pups will drive Curtis to be an abolitionist, if such a thing can possibly be. You know the result better, than I do or can.

* * * * *

My first love is God - then man - then Nature.

Yours Truly
W. H. Herndon.

Herndon.

"Here will I hold with my Lord the Lion:
Nor heed the storm that howls along the sky."

S. E. JAMESON & CO.....Editors and Proprietors.
S. E. M. JAMESON,.....Associate Editor.

CITY OF SPRINGFIELD.

MONDAY EVENING.....JUNE 15, 1857.

NEWS AGENTS.—All Republicans in the state of Illinois are authorized to receive subscriptions for the Daily and Weekly Springfield REPUBLICAN.

WANTED.—Several active and responsible Agents wanted to solicit names for the Weekly REPUBLICAN. Apply immediately at the counting room of this office.

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DOUGLAS HAS BEEN HERE.

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In some parts of the world a portion of mankind, during certain seasons of the year, hold birds of game, and at this time of the year hold these same fowls as game Gods or game! Senator Douglas when younger and purer than he is now, or ever will be again, was accustomed to worship

[illegible] custom of England,"—will prove less "stubborn" than then for the rights of man? Poor creature of the black power. Does he dream that the men who sprang from the sires who declared that Resistance to tyrants was obedience to God,—will be less "pestiferous" and "unruly" than when this immortal truth was [illegible] tool of Southern despots! Does he suppose that the children of these men who enunciated the God-generated truth—"That all men, (by nature,) are created equals; [illegible] endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights—amongst these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,"—will basely bow their necks at the bidding of a demagogue.

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[illegible]

[illegible] Proprietors.
[illegible] Associate Editor.

[illegible]OFIELD.
.....JUNE 20, 1857.

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The Hon. Senator made his central speech here on Friday evening, in the hall of the House of Representatives! This same hall, was denied to [illegible] Douglas and clan, of this same town, [illegible] years ago. We are happy that [illegible] gave up the hall to the [illegible] the republicans will [illegible] always return good for evil. This [illegible] enter into [illegible] central [illegible] of 1857 [illegible] gone of us the [illegible] of the state, preparatory to [illegible] gle of 1858. He is [illegible] the can-vass early—while [illegible] the heating and boiling strife, hoping thereby to [illegible] the uprising bubbles. Poor man!—we pity him. Does he suppose that the descendants of that nation—the children of that people, who in the reign of Henry the 1st [illegible] and passed this law—Lord [illegible]

[illegible] custom of England,"—will prove less "stubborn" than then for the rights of man? Poor creature of the black power. Does he dream that the men who sprang from the sires, who declared that "Resistance to tyranny was obedience to God,"—will be less "pestiferous" and "unruly" than when this immortal truth was stifled [illegible] foot tool of Southern despots! Does he suppose that the children of these men who enunciated the God-generated truth—"That all men, (by nature,) are created equals; [illegible] endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights—amongst these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,"—will basely hug their chains at the bidding of a demagogue.

But to the speech of the Hon. Senator. In truth Douglas now is not the Douglas of 1850 or 1854. He is conscious of a power—the power of the people outraged, betrayed, enraged; and as he did not leap upon the stand with his accustomed forse and defiant tone; he is somewhat cut; is full of [illegible] humility; his long whip fore-finger did not crack so commendingly as was its wont. He appears pinched—cramped—shrivelled up; his squat form is low and his voice hasn. When he would elevate his form to his former thought his person would [illegible] as if touched on the shoulder by the ghost finger of Brown or some other patriot-spirit of Kansas, who had sealed his life by the blood of liberty. His gait and position—and all were weary, as if there were beneath him the rankling bones of murdered patriots, struggling to gain [illegible] themselves that they might rise up and confront the Senator, he contra the traitor to his country and the universal foe of man. Not for this whole globe with all its wealth, pomp, and gold, would we be Douglas—the struggle senator, from the state of Illinois. We [illegible] review his speech more particularly in a day or so. In the mean time we shall survey Douglas and his lie.

[illegible] Let us look who hath [illegible] And hear the [illegible] shows that [illegible] is slavery and [illegible] For mere ends of personal power and [illegible] In such a [illegible] as doth [illegible] To itself, sole [illegible]

[illegible] is in the state of Illinois [illegible] pies for the Daily and [illegible]

[illegible] REPUBLICAN. Apply [illegible] this office.

[illegible] and Weekly REPUBLI-[illegible] can be had at the counting

[illegible] *has now the largest [illegible] in Springfield!*

[illegible] PETIT—ROSS.

[illegible] meet again?
[illegible] is rain.

[illegible] good men—those [illegible] 76, had issued the [illegible] lence—had pledged [illegible] nd its success—had [illegible] e protection of Di- did they think that [illegible] is declaration would [illegible] attacked by their [illegible] they dream that af- [illegible] er their lives, their [illegible] d honors, as guar- [illegible] d faith, deluged in [illegible] a living witness of [illegible] Justice, that a man [illegible] and for which they [illegible] American aspirants [illegible] ld say, in the face of [illegible] we the blood of mar- [illegible] tombs of the leaders [illegible] he Declaration of In- [illegible] evident lie. But so [illegible] found to do it— [illegible] s have done it, man [illegible] fell—man who re- [illegible] his laws must, fall [illegible] he got too ambitious [illegible] supercede the Al- [illegible]

Almighty power,
[illegible] from the eternal sky."

[illegible] year 1854, a sham [illegible] ess up in the United [illegible] and that the Declara- [illegible] dependence was "a [illegible] An itinerant nigger [illegible] mocratic high priest, [illegible] se to now!—Mr. Ross says that the Declaration of Independence is absurd; and now, in the month of June, A. D. 1857, here in this city, Senator Douglas says the declaration of American liberty is UNTRUE; he is polite in his epithets.

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It was to be hoped, it is to be hoped, that the struggle of '76 will run round the world of man and fill his soul with its spirit and its fire, as the sun floods the earth with light; it was once prayed for, and the prayers were answered by the victories of the Revolution, but that principle is now scoffed, and the God who granted the prayers is wholly repudiated and scorned as being inconsistent with slavery. From the whole course of the universal history of America, we are yet satisfied that the undying principles of the Declaration of American Independence will yet run round and embrace the whole human race, flooding their soul with the spirit of justice to man and liberty to every child of God.

If Mr. Douglas will have these peoples to demonstrate to man the undying faith of the correctness of the Declaration of American Independence; if he will have the universal reason of man to make its oration of eloquence on the bloody battle field in the United States of America, then let him agitate, let him raise the issue that the Declaration is a lie, and throw himself and his party upon the God of battles and of justice. We do, in the language of the American Independence, believe "These truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;" and believing this—believing that when our fathers said that in the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor; that they did believe it—did risk life and all for it; and having been successful

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SANGAMON FURNITURE
WARE ROOMS.
I HAVE RECEIVED A LARGE LOT OF
NEW FURNITURE,
Tucker's Spring Beds.
C. C. PHELPS.

People
Enacted

S. H. JAMESON & CO., Editors and Proprietors.
M. H. B. JAMESON, ... Associate Editor.

CITY OF SPRINGFIELD.
SATURDAY EVENING.....JUNE 20, 1857.

OUR AGENTS.—All Republicans in the state of Illinois are authorized to receive subscriptions for the Daily and Weekly Springfield REPUBLICAN.

[illegible] Agents will [illegible] the Daily REPUBLICAN. Apply immediately at the counting room of this office.

☞ Single copies of the Daily and Weekly REPUBLICAN with its wrappers, can be had at the counting room on the days of publication.

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THREE—DOUGLAS—PETIT—ROSS.

When shall we THREE meet again?
In thunder, lightning or in rain?

When those great and good men—those immortal fathers of 1776, had issued the Declaration of Independence—had pledged their lives to its truth and its success—had with humility invoked the protection of Divine Providence, little did they think that the eternal truths of this declaration would be coarsely and meanly attacked by their own children. Little did they dream that after pledging to each other their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honors, as guarantees of their inspired faith, deluged in them by Omnipotence as a living witness of His law of Liberty and Justice, that a man—native men of the land for which they fought—Americans—American aspirants for the Presidency would say, in the face of the civilized world, above the blood of martyred patriots and the tombs of the leaders of the revolution, that the Declaration of Independence was a self-evident lie. But so it is—man has been found to do it—Americans—aspirants have done it, man must fall as the angels fell—man who rebels against God and his laws must, fall as did the angel when he got too ambitious—when he cried to supercede the Almighty.

"Him the Almighty power
Hurled headlong flaming from the eternal sky."

Mr. Petit, in the year 1854, a sham democratic Senator, rose up in the United States Senate, and said that the Declaration of American Independence was "a self-evident lie." An itinerant nigger preacher, a sham democratic high priest, so late as 1857—Mr. Ross—says that the Declaration of Independence is absurd; and now, in the month of June, A. D. 1857, here, in this city, Senator Douglas says the declaration of American liberty is UNTRUE; he is polite in his epithets.

We are surprised that Douglas should follow a negro man, a black nigger priest, and pronounce the glorious Declaration of American Independence an untruth—a self-evident falsehood—a lie and a political [illegible] upon the [illegible] solutionist. The next step which the [illegible] gentleman—no, [illegible] iron-chain Senator—will take will be this—"The negro is not the equal—all the facts in the universe prove that—now the Declaration of Independence is "inconsistent" with the fact; the facts "supercede it," and the iron-chain democracy will repeal it: and then I will inaugurate a glorious aristocracy of blood—a squatter sovereignty of the divine right of kings to squat down astraddle of the backs of these pretended equals. Slavery is right in principle, and extends to the white race as well as to the black." Mr. Douglas may think that that is not his landing place, but let us assure him and the democracy that another inch that way will finally land them there; there is no escape; there is no dodging—no escaping a principle. A principle is eternally right, or endlessly wrong; it cannot be right to-day and wrong to-morrow. A true principle is as permanent and as grand as the domains of nature.

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W. H. Herndon.

Herndon

NEW SPRING

SANGAMON FURNITURE

WARE ROOMS,

[illegible]

I HAVE RECEIVED A LARGE LOT OF

NEW FURNITURE,

[illegible]

Tucker's Spring Beds.

[illegible]

[illegible]

PROSPECTUS OF THE

Springfield Republican.

[illegible]

S. H. JAMESON & CO., ... Editors and Proprietors.
M. H. E. JAMESON, ... Associate Editor.

CITY OF SPRINGFIELD.

SATURDAY EVENING.....JUNE 20, 1857.

OUR AGENTS.—All Postmasters in the state of Illinois are authorized to receive subscriptions for the Daily and Weekly Springfield REPUBLICAN.

WANTED.—Several active and responsible Agents wanted to canvass for the Weekly REPUBLICAN. Apply immediately at the counting room of this office.

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"[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] not say it was false [illegible] but this generally, but [illegible] has a right to [illegible] any [illegible]." This was the [illegible] politicians. The next step [illegible] tleman—no, [illegible] iron-chain Senator—will [illegible] "The negro is not my equal—all the facts in the universe prove that—now the Declaration of Independence is "inconsistent" with the fact; the facts "supercede it," and the iron-chain democracy will repeal it; and then *I* will inaugurate a glorious aristocracy of blood—a squatter sovereignty of the divine right of kings to squat down a-straddle of the backs of these pretended equals. Slavery is right in principle, and extends to the white race as well as to the black." Mr. Douglas may think that that is not his landing place, but let us assure him and the democracy that another inch that way will finally land them there; there is no escape; there is no dodging—no escaping a principle. A principle is eternally right, or endlessly wrong; it cannot be right to-day and wrong to-morrow. A true principle is as permanent and as grand as the domains of nature.

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people a great deal, and I can say to you that none like it, and some have been so bold-democrats- as to repudiate the Court and party. They stand up this day freemen in the best sense of the term. defying party hacks and throwing off old party associations.
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AT THE
SANGAMON FURNITURE
WARE ROOMS,
Nos. 3 and 4, 2d story, Enterprise Row.

I HAVE RECEIVED A LARGE LOT OF
NEW FURNITURE,
Bureaus, Marble Top and Mahogany Center and Card Tables, Extension Dining Tables, Tete-a-Tetes and Rocking Chairs; Mahogany, Cane and Wooden Chairs; Rose wood and Mahogany Looking Glasses; Sink, Enclosed and Common Wash Stands; Secretaries and Book Cases; Common, Cottage and Palace Bedsteads; Tin Safes, Cupboards, &c.
Tucker's Spring Beds.
Cabinet work done to order. Give me a call, as I intend to furnish all who want to furnish their houses, with good work, and at prices low enough to suit the times.
Please call and see for yourselves.
Country work warranted as represented, and at reasonable charge.
my1 C. C. PHELPS.

PROSPECTUS OF THE *Springfield Republican.*

On the 9th day of February, 1857, the undersigned will issue the first number of the DAILY SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN. In making this announcement, it is due our readers that we should state the objects we seek, and the aim and intention of this new and untried enterprise. Firstly, as the name of our paper imports, it will be REPUBLICAN—*Republican now, Republican forever*—seeking no by-paths and devious ways, courting the favor of neither the rich or great, untrammelled by power and awed by fear, we will do our whole duty, and press unceasingly on in the conflict between Freedom and Slavery, making our paper an organ worthy of the *name*, as well as *the confidence and support of the true* Republican party of the State of Illinois, and we confidently look to them to support and aid us unto ultimate victory. We also wish it distinctly understood, that we are *not* the organ of any *moneyed, aristocratic clique*, on the contrary, we design making our sheet the organ of the laboring and working classes. Believing "that all men are created equal," we shall recognize no aristocracy except *that of worth*; no merit except of *honesty* and *manhood*. The interests and wants of the working classes in Springfield will find in us a bold and fearless exponent, an uncompromising enemy to "every form and species of despotism over the minds or bodies of mankind."

We do *not* design making our paper exclusively a "*literary and news journal*," for we have a higher object to obtain—a nobler work to perform—a work more worthy of attention, consideration and efforts. Now that the [illegible] is no time for us to enjoy a dishonorable [illegible] believing that we have the means and facilities of making as good and valuable a sheet, in every department, as any one can possess, we throw out our banner to the breeze—hoping that the friends of [illegible]

"When spirit we there will be sunshine or in rain."

In thunder, lightning or in rain."

We are willing to acknowledge, now and here, that he did not say it was false though he said it was not true generally; but he intended to convey to the uninitiated that it was a palpable lie. He commenced thus: "The Declaration of Independence—well, abolitionists—ahem—our fathers did not mean niggers were equal to the white man; they are not our brothers, though God's Bible says so—no man has a right to say a nigger is my brother." This was the indirect manner of the attack; it was like the attack on the Missouri Compromise lines. First the Missouri Compromise was [illegible] inconsistent with the acts of 1850—then it was superceded; then repealed by the [illegible] Nebraska act. [illegible]

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Consisting Marble Top and Mahogany Center and Side Tables; Dressing and Plain Bureaus; Mahogany and Walnut Chairs; Rose Wood and Mahogany Rocking Chairs; Mahogany and Walnut Sofas; Enclosed and Common Wash Stands; Secretaries and Book Cases; Cottage and Wood Bedsteads; Tin Safes, Cupboards, &c.

Tucker's Spring Beds.

All who want to furnish their houses, with good work, and at prices low enough to suit the times, will find it for their interest to call and see for themselves.

Persons will be charged for moving the first mile free of charge.

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"Where shall we throw up our breast-works or in vain?"

In thunder, ...

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[illegible] will issue the first number of the DAILY SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN. [illegible] readers that we should state the objects we seek, and the aim and intention of this new and untried enterprise. Firstly, as the name of our paper imports, it will be REPUBLICAN—*Republican now, Republican forever*—seeking no bye-paths and devious ways, courting the favor of neither the rich or great, untrushed by power—unawed by fear, we will do our whole duty, and press unceasingly on in the conflict between Freedom and Slavery, making our paper an organ worthy of the *name*, as well as *the confidence and support* of the *true* Republican party of the State of Illinois, and we confidently look to them to support and aid us unto ultimate victory. We also wish it distinctly understood, that we are *not* the organ of any *moneyed, aristocratic clique*, on the contrary, we design making our sheet the organ of the laboring and working classes. Believing "that all men are created and equal," we shall recognize no aristocracy except of *worth*; no merit except of *honesty* and *manhood*. The interests and wants of the working classes in Springfield will find in us a bold and fearless exponent, an uncompromising enemy to "every form and species of despotism [illegible] the minds or bodies of mankind."

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[illegible] people
2 Enactice

NEW ARRIVAL
AT THE
SANGAMON FURNITURE
WARE ROOMS,
Nos. 3 and 4, 2d story, Enterprise Row.

I HAVE RECEIVED A LARGE LOT OF
NEW FURNITURE,

And have on hand—Marble Top and Mahogany Bureaus; Marble Top and Mahogany Center and Card Tables; Ottomans and Hat Racks; Sofas, Tete-a-Tetes and Rocking Chairs; Mahogany, Cane and Windsor Chairs; Rose Wood and Mahogany Looking Glasses; Sink, Enclosed and Common Wash Stands; Secretaries and Book Cases; Common, Cottage and Misses Bedsteads; Tin Safes, Cupboards, &c.

Tucker's Spring Beds.

Chairs and Cabinet Work made to order—and offer to all who want to furnish their houses, with good work, and at prices low enough to suit the times.

Please call and see for yourselves.

[illegible] charge.

my1 C. C. PHELPS.

PROSPECTUS OF THE
Springfield Republican.

On the 9th day of February, 1857, the undersigned will issue the first number of the DAILY SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN. In making this announcement, it is due our readers that we should state the objects we seek, and the aim and intention of this new and untried enterprise. Firstly, as the name of our paper imports, it will be REPUBLICAN—*Republican now, Republican forever*—seeking no bye-paths and devious ways, courting the favor of neither the rich or great, untrushed by power—unawed by fear, we will do our whole duty, and press unceasingly on in the conflict between Freedom and Slavery, making our paper an organ worthy of the *name*, as well as *the confidence and support* of the *true* Republican party of the State of Illinois, and we confidently look to them to support and aid us unto ultimate victory. We also wish it distinctly understood, that we are *not* the organ of any *moneyed, aristocratic clique*, on the contrary, we design making our sheet the organ of the laboring and working classes. Believing "that all men are created and equal," we shall recognize no aristocracy except of *worth*; no merit except of *honesty* and *manhood*. The interests and wants of the working classes in Springfield will find in us a bold and fearless exponent, an uncompromising enemy to "every form and species of despotism [illegible] the minds or bodies of mankind."

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In thunder, LIGHTNING or in rain?"

"When shall we three meet again,
In thunder, LIGHTNING or in rain?"

We are willing to acknowledge, now and here, that he did not say it was false though he said it was not true generally; but he intended to convey to the uninitiated that it was a palpable lie. He commenced thus: "The Declaration of Independence—well, abolitionists—ahem—our fathers did not mean niggers were equal to the white man; they are not our brothers, though God's Bible says so—no man has a right to say a nigger is my brother." This was the indirect manner of the attack; it was like the attack on the Missouri Compromise line. First the Missouri Compromise was inconsistent with the acts of 1850—then it was superceded; then repealed by the Kansas-Nebraska act. This was and is a sly, creeping and midnight attack upon the Declaration of Independence; it is not the manly onset, the manly attack, the justifiable manslaughter; but a base, cowardly attempted murder of that hallowed instrument and chart of human rights.

To convey the idea, or create a sentiment that should in due time ripen into an idea, he reads the Declaration of Independence speak what is not in it; he wants to do a [illegible] and so uses a fraud to do it with. [illegible] the Declaration say this: [illegible] "were" is not in the [illegible] but the words are [illegible]

people a great deal, and I can say to you that none like it, and some have been so bold democrats — as to repudiate the Court and party. They stand up this day freemen in the best sense of the term. defying party hacks and throwing off old party associations. Since I wrote to you — I think I was then in Court — I have conversed with many of my profession, and they sent the Court and the reasons of the decision. This decision has hurt the Court very much — has hurt the nigger driving Democracy. Has not the Stand Curtis has taken aided his waning popularity — his doubtful position? I think the nigger driving Court and the persecutions of the Southern pets will drive Curtis to be an abolitionist, if such a thing can possibly be. You know the result better than I do or can.

* * * * *

My first love is God — then man — then Nature.

Yours Truly
W. H. Herndon.

Herndon

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All who want to furnish their houses, with good work, and
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PROSPECTUS OF THE *Springfield Republican.*

On the 22d day of February, 1857, the undersigned will issue the first number of the DAILY SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN. In making this announcement, it is due to our readers that we should state the objects we seek, and the aim and intention of this new and untried enterprise.

Firstly, as the name of our paper imports, it will be REPUBLICAN in politics. *Republican* word! *Republican* forever! seeking no bye-paths and devious ways, courting the favor of neither the rich or great, untrammeled by power and awed by fear, we will do our whole duty, and press unceasingly on in the *conflict* between Freedom and Slavery; making our paper an organ worthy of the *name*, as well as the *confidence and support* of the *true* Republicans of the party of the State of Illinois, and we confidently look to them to support and aid us unto ultimate victory! We also wish it distinctly understood, that we are *not* the organ of any *monopoly, aristocratic clique*, but on the contrary, we design making out sheet the organ of the laboring and working classes. Believing "that all men are created free and equal," we shall recognize no aristocracy except *that of worth*; no merit except of *honesty* and *manhood*. The interests and wants of the working classes in Springfield will find in us a bold and fearless exponent, an uncompromising enemy to every form and species of despotism over the minds or bodies of mankind.

In making our paper a live one, we have a higher object to [illegible] for we have a higher object to [illegible] work more worthy [illegible] Now that the [illegible] honorable [illegible]

ALL AB
SUPERB
CRACKERS

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126

Herndon.

Springfield, Ill. June 29th 1857.

Friend Parker.

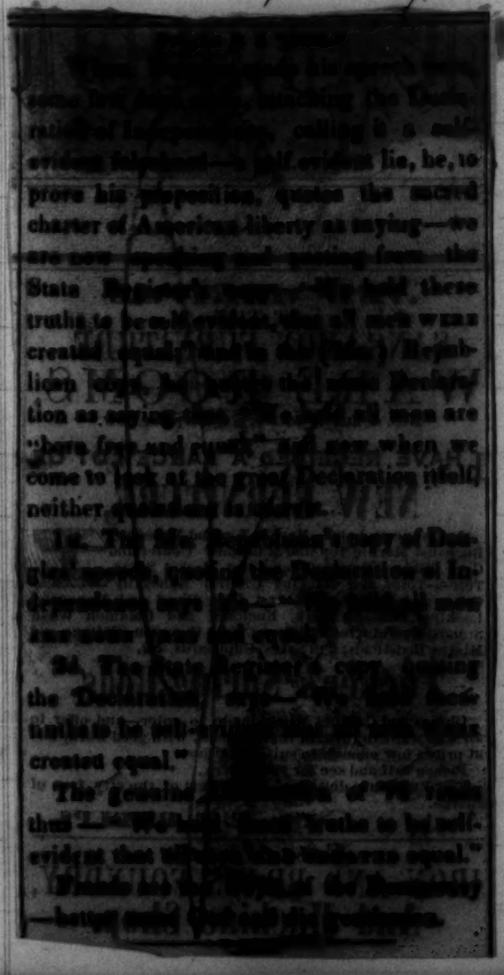
Dear Sir.

Thanks for yours of the 24th inst. I did as you requested - gave Mr Lincoln your best wishes: he returns them. I send you this day one of Mr Lincoln's Speeches in the State Journal. Douglas Speech was a low, gutter, rabble - rousing speech. Mr Lincoln's was gentlemanly - strong - powerful and conclusive. The difference is very apparent.

You have paid me long since - Sorry you are sick. * * * * * * *

Yours Truly.

W. H. Herndon.



[redacted]

[redacted] editions of [redacted] Douglas' recent speech, which have been published to the world. It puts forth a weak effort to heal the effect of the discovery of this disgraceful and barefaced act, by bold falsehoods and glaring misstatements; and then seeks to smooth the discrepancy over by laying the blame of the *variations* upon the reporters. But it won't do; the manner in which the changing and garbling of the speech have been carried out whole passages being expunged from some parts, and new paragraphs being added to others, shows a studied intention to deceive, which the *Register* does not presume to explain. That sheet says of our charge:

It is based simply upon the fact that the *revised copy* of the speech, as furnished us by Senator Douglas, *varies* somewhat in its phraseology from the speech written out from the *same* notes by the reporter of the St. Louis *Republican!* * * Failing to receive a small portion of the speech as revised by Judge D. in time for an early publication, the publishers of that excellent journal filled up that portion of the speech from their reporter's notes. * * The speech *as revised is not verbatim as delivered.*"

This is what the *Register* of the 25th offers in explanation. How does it tally with what the Republican previously said in reference to [illegible]

Herndon

Mo Republican

June 30/57

THE REPUBLICAN.

PROGRESS OF THE CAMPAIGN.

From the St. Joseph Gazette.

COL. STEWART.—If the event of Col. Stewart's election rested with the people of this section of the State, he would indeed receive a most flattering testimonial of the favor in which he is held. We believe we hazard little in saying that in the palmiest days of the Democratic party of Missouri, before our ranks were rent by "dissension dire," such a majority was never rolled up for any candidate as will be called forth on the first Monday in next August by the favorite of this Senatorial district.

In truth every man here should hold himself in some sort indebted to Stewart, for to him more than any other man do we owe the consideration which our city and the whloe Platte Purchase has received in the councils of our State. Energetic, intelligent, prompt, he has been the man to conceive and has had the hand to push forward the most important work to this part of the State that it was possible we should ever have.

While politicians have been riding to and fro in the land, and making speeches innumerable, it has been his work to devote his energies to the development of our wonderful resources. If his merits and claims upon the people were to be measured by the number of political speeches he has made and the conventions he has attended, and the wire-pulling he has done to procure his preferment over others by the intrigues which are but too often resorted to by politicians, then he stands a poor chance in competition with Maj. Rollins, and many others that we might name. But fortunately this is not the standard by which he is to be tried.

Each day do we hear incorrigible opponents of our party say that they are for Stewart as a matter above party. They say that such has been his exertions for the promotion of internal improvements, and to such an extent has he sacrificed his personal comforts and pecuniary interests for the public good, that to refuse to vote for him now for the office of Governor would be flagrant ingratitude.

From the South-West Democrat

THE CANVASS.

Having recently made a tour into Polk and Hickory counties, we made it our business to ascertain something of the public mind in reference to the canvass for Governor, the result of which confirms us in the certainty of the triumph of Col. Stewart by a handsome majority. The wily arts of Major Rollins to secure the votes of Whigs or Democrats, will result in a splendid failure. The Whigs know that he has been more prominent perhaps than any other man in the State, in betraying and breaking up the old Whig party. They know that he has branded that party as "corrupt" when he became a Know Nothing. They cannot "lick the hand that smites them," nor will they support the destroyer of their party; nor will the Major be able to succeed in the effort agreed upon with Mr. Blair, to lure the friends of Col. Benton into the slimy embrace of Black Republicanism.

The friends of Col. Benton are generally Democrats of the "straitest [illegible]" [illegible] Democracy has been [illegible] their ancestry. To support Major Rollins would be to place themselves in opposition to the party with whom they have ever acted, and would be to fraternize with Black Republicans and their Know Nothing allies. They know that in times past no man in the State has heaped more abuse, politically and personally, upon Col. Benton, than this same Major Rollins, and his present pretended love for the Old Senator is all a miserable deception for the purpose of securing the votes of his friends.

[illegible]

ngfield, Ill. July 4th. 1857.

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Send a forgery on Lincoln &
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the Times was July 1st 1857. The
double columns, is a base wilful
m either of their Speeches.

Do not fail to keep what
you or Mr Phillips lets off a gun.
possible — if you can't get Phillips
my name — no use in saying

Yours Truly

W. H. Herndon.

126

Herndon.

Springfield, Ill. June 29th 1837.

Friend Parker.

Dear Sir.

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You have paid [illegible] you are sick. * * *

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When Douglas made his speech [illegible] some few days since, attacking the Declaration of Independence, calling it a self-evident falsehood—a self-evident lie, he, to prove his proposition, quotes the sacred charter of American liberty as saying—we are now speaking and quoting from the State Register's copy—"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men WERE created equal;" and in the (Mo.) Republican copy, he quotes the same Declaration as saying that "We hold all men are "born free and equal;" and now when we come to look at the great Declaration itself, neither quotations is correct.

1st. The Mo. Republican's copy of Douglas' speech, quoting the Declaration of Independence says this—"We hold all men ARE BORN FREE and equal."

2d. The State Register's copy, quoting the Declaration, says—"We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men WERE created equal."

The genuine Declaration of '76 reads thus—"We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men ARE CREATED equal."

Frauds are the [illegible] of the Democracy—better [illegible] God and die gentlemen.

report of the speech? In the *Republican* of the 17th, we have quite a fine spun article on the subject, in the course of which the paper remarks:—

"We have before us a *report of the entire speech*, taken by our stenographic reporter, *word for word as delivered* by Mr. Douglas *and complimented by him as literally correct.* * * We shall publish the *whole of this speech* tomorrow."

Accordingly, we find "the whole of this speech" in the *Republican* of the 18th, "*word for word*, as delivered by Mr. Douglas." *On the same day*, another version of the speech appeared in the *Register*. Now here is a discrepancy between the accounts published by the *Register* and the *Republican*, no less strange and mysterious than the discrepancy between the two speeches. How does it happen that Mr. Douglas, after seeing and carefully revising it, could "compliment" the report of the latter paper "as *literally* correct," and yet the "*revised*" speech, published in the *Register* should be totally different and distinct? [illegible] agree with the *Register* that it is not uncommon for public men to revise their speeches; but how does it occur that *two revised* editions are sent out to the world on the same day, one wearing a Southern and the other a Northern face, to be used as occasion may require? Our pro-slavery champion of the *Register* does not presume to explain this. It flatly contradicts the statement made by "its excellent friend," the St. Louis *Republican*, and there stops. And the *Republican*, which now does up the dirty kitchen work of the bogus Democracy with such a relish, in its turn flatly contradicts the statement put forth by the *Register*. The public can plainly see that *there is a lie out between them*, and they may settle it to suit themselves.

Meanwhile, however, the fact remains not only unimpeached, but virtually confessed, that two different editions of Douglas' speech have been given to the public, resembling each other, as our correspondent has stated, "about as much as a horse resembles a cow." They are

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Mo Republican

June 30/57

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The friends of Col. Benton know that the effort of Blair and Rollins to hoodwink them into the support of the latter, is an effort not only to transfer them from the Democratic party to the Black Republicans, but to place them in direct opposition to Col. Benton himself, who has lately denounced the Freesoil movement, headed by Blair. In all these matters the numerous old friends of Col. Benton are fully posted. They will teach Blair and Rollins that they are Democrats as well as Benton men, and, like their great leader, they loathe the embrace of Black Republicanism.

In Col Stewart they have a candidate with whom they have differed somewhat as to men only, but not having differed with him as to principle, and adopting the good old Benton motto of "Principles not men," "Union, harmony, concession; everything for the cause, nothing for men," they can and will support our nominee with alacrity. This is the feeling and determination of the Democracy of the country, which will result in triumphant success, and the overthrow of the miserable alliance in the opposition.

From the Neosho Chief.

THE AUGUST ELECTION.—The canvass for Governor as yet has failed to produce anything like a troubled state in the political waters of South West Missouri. The public mind is unusually quiet, and we see nothing afloat indicative of an approaching State election. The bustle of party strife has ceased to beat with its accustomed characteristic vigor, and an unbroken harmony seems to reign triumphant in the bosom of our prosperous and happy community.

Whether this prevailing political torpidity is owing to the interest which our farmers and other citizens are taking in the management of their home affairs, or to a want of a proper appreciation of the importance of the duties which they, as freemen, will soon be called upon to discharge, is a question which we are not, at this time, prepared to determine.

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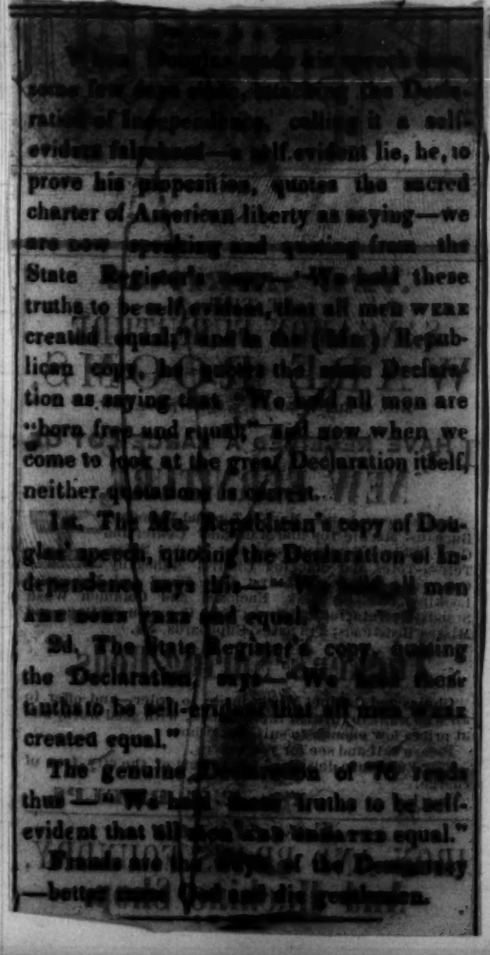

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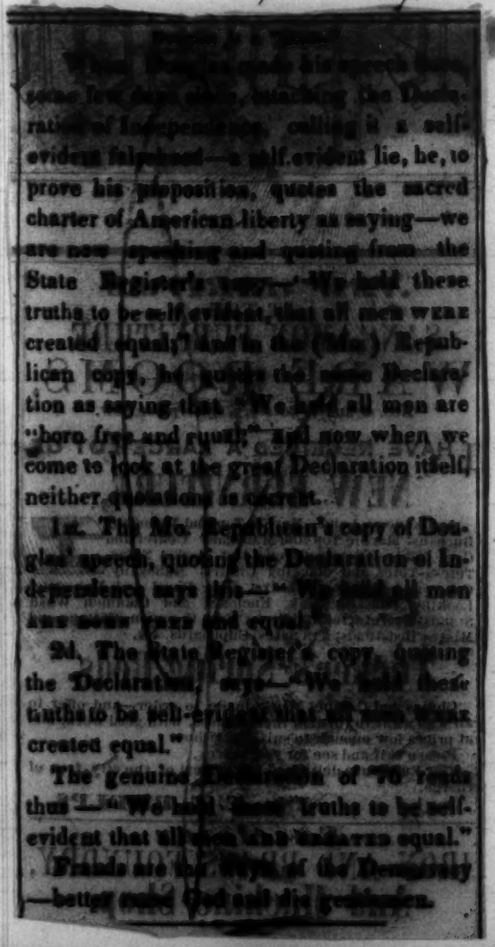
report of the speech? In the *Republican* of the 17th, we have quite a fine spun article on the subject, in the course of which the paper remarks:—

"We have before us a *report of the entire speech*, taken by our stenographic reporter, *word for word as delivered* by Mr. Douglas *and complimented by him as literally correct.* * * We shall publish the *whole of this speech* tomorrow."

Accordingly, we find "the whole of this speech" in the *Republican* of the 18th, "*word for word*, as delivered by Mr. Douglas." *On the same day*, another version of the speech appeared in the *Register*. Now here is a discrepancy between the accounts published by the *Register* and the *Republican*, no less strange and mysterious than the discrepancy between the two speeches. How does it happen that Mr. Douglas, after seeing and carefully reviewing it, could "compliment" the report of the latter paper "as *literally correct*" [illegible] how does it occur that *two* [illegible] sent out to the world on the same day, one wearing a Southern and the other a Northern face, to be used as occasion may require? Our pro-slavery champion of the *Register* does not presume to explain this. It flatly contradicts the statement made by "its excellent friend," the St. Louis *Republican*, and there stops. And the *Republican*, which now does up the dirty kitchen work of the bogus Democracy with such a relish, in its turn flatly contradicts the statement put forth by the *Register*. The public can plainly see that *there is a lie out between them*, and they may settle it to suit themselves.



Meanwhile, however, the fact remains not only unimpeached, but virtually confessed, that two different editions of Douglas' speech have been given to the public, resembling each other, as our correspondent has stated, "about as much as a horse resembles a cow." They are two distinct speeches, in some respects differing most radically, and exhibiting altogether different complexions. We can not do otherwise than charge Mr. Douglas with having a hand [illegible] this game of deceit and treachery; for both [illegible] that he saw and revised the [illegible]

Herndon.

Mo Republican
June 30/57

THE REPUBLICAN.

PROGRESS OF THE CAMPAIGN.

From the Missouri Republican.

They know that in times past no man in the State has heaped more abuse, politically and personally, upon Col. Benton, than this same Major Rollins, and his present pretended love for the Old Senator is all a miserable deception for the purpose of securing the votes of his friends.

The friends of Col. Benton know that the effort of Blair and Rollins to hoodwink them into the support of the latter, is an effort not only to transfer them from the Democratic party to the Black Republicans, but to place them in direct opposition to Col. Benton himself, who has lately denounced the Freesoil movement headed by Blair. In all these matters the numerous old friends of Col. Benton are fully posted. They will teach Blair and Rollins that they are Democrats as well as Benton men, and, like their great leader, they loathe the embrace of Black Republicanism.

In Col. Stewart they have a candidate with whom they have differed somewhat as to men only, but not having differed with him as to principle, and adopting the good old Benton motto of "Principles not men," "Union, harmony, concession; everything for the cause, nothing for men," they can and will support our nominee with alacrity. This is the feeling and determination of the Democracy of the country, which will result in triumphant success, and the overthrow of the miserable alliance in the opposition.

From the Neosho Chief.

THE AUGUST ELECTION.—The canvass for Governor as yet has failed to produce anything like a troubled state in the political waters of South West Missouri. The public mind is unusually quiet, and we see nothing afloat indicative of an approaching State election. The bustle of party strife has ceased to beat with its accustomed characteristic vigor, and an unbroken harmony seems to reign triumphant in the bosom of our prosperous and happy community.

Whether this prevailing political torpidity is owing to the interest which our farmers and other citizens are taking in the management of their home affairs, or to a want of a proper appreciation of the importance of the duties which they, as freemen, will soon be called upon to discharge, is a question which we are not, at this time, prepared to determine.

We indulge the opinion, however, that the masses of the people, although deeply absorbed in the press of business imposed upon them by the unusual backwardness of the season, are yet not unmindful of the important issues to be decided by them at the ensuing election. The people know their duty, and are fully aware of the necessity of prompt, vigorous and united action, in order to succeed in any great political achievement—and indifferent as they may now appear, in regard to the work which awaits their action, we have confidence in the belief that in due time they will commence the vindication of the rallying to the support of that able, eloquent, steadfastness and honesty of their principles by and national Democrat, Robert M. Stewart.

Were the present quiet state of feeling throughout the Southwest attributable to a oneness of political principle, or unanimity of political sentiment, we would deem it unpardonable in any one to do or say anything calculated to disturb the beauty and serenity of such a political calm; but as such an hypothesis is not in keeping with facts developed by recent elections in our State; as there is really and emphatically no oneness of political sentiment between National Democracy and Know-Nothingism, between National Democracy and Black Republicanism, or between National Democracy and the fresh-hatched "opposition" party with Maj. Rollins at their head, [illegible] to say to the Democracy of

Springfield, Ill. July 4th. 1857.

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in either of their Speeches.

Do not fail to keep what
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y name—and use in saying

Yours Truly
W. H. Herndon.

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Weldon.

Springfield, Ill. June 29th 1857.

Friend Parker.

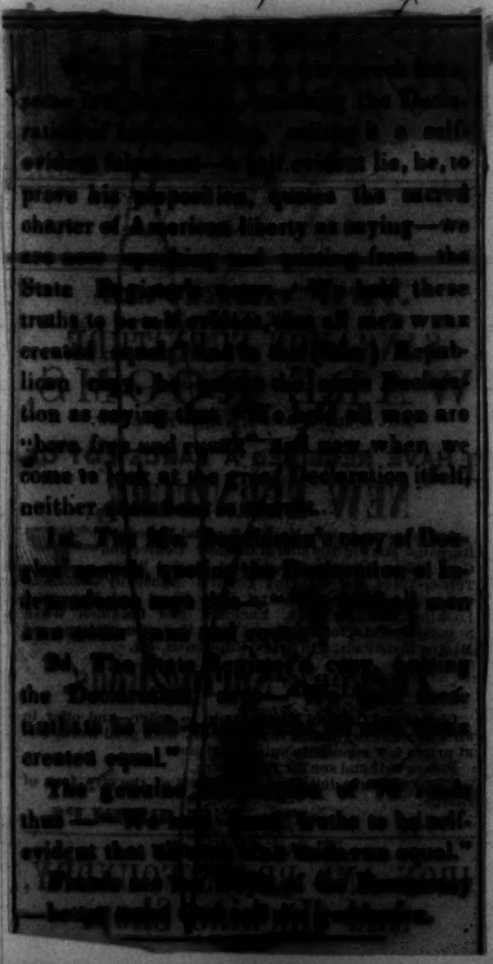
Dear Sir.

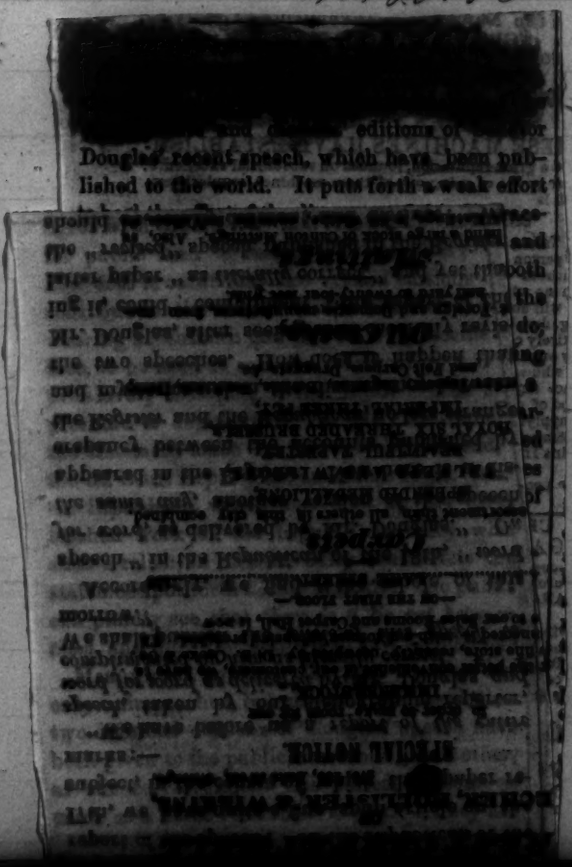
Thanks for yours of the 24th inst. I did as you requested - gave Mr Lincoln your best wishes: he returns them. I send you this day one of Mr Lincoln's Speeches in the State Journal. Douglas Speech was a low, gutter, rabble - rousing Speech. Mr Lincoln's was gentlemanly - strong - powerful and conclusive. The difference is very apparent.

You have paid me long since - Sorry you are sick. * * * * * * *

Yours Truly.

W. H. Weldon.





Herndon.

Springfield, Ill. July 4th. 1857.

Friend:

Excuse me - I want to let you see where Douglas is drifting. You saw his bid in the Missouri Republican; you saw the rabble-rouser's Speech in Missouri Republican - Sent you copies - true ones - I now send you Douglas last bid, and that is no less than - utter frustration of human Liberty and rights in Kansas - the world in general. O - what a scoundrel! I cut from his own Chicago Times a piece send it to you - from the original - cut it out "with my own hands." Save it. After reading hand to Phillips. This article ought to have come out on July 4th 1857 - Good God! are not the Democracy crazy?

I herewith send a forgery on Lincoln & Trumbull. it appeared in the State Register July 2nd 1857. that of the Times was July 1st 1857. The Register article, in double columns, is a base wilful forgery. never was in either of their Speeches.

Do not fail to keep what I send you till you or Mr Phillips lets off a gun. Do as soon as possible - if you can't get Phillips wholly private - my name - no use in saying this I know.

Yours Truly

W. H. Herndon.

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SPRINGFIELD:

THUSDAY MORNING, JULY 2, 1857.

FAIRS IN THE STATE OF ILLINOIS.

STATE FAIR ..... PEORIA ..... 23 & 24

Louis *Republican* to be engaged in. There was a time, before the death of the lamented Col. Chambers, when it would not stoop to such low service, but in all discussions sustained a high reputation for its dignity, its manliness and its courtesy. But with his death, it bartered itself away to the very party which it was established to fight against, and now in doing its dirty work has sunk itself not only in honesty and dignity, but in ability, judgment and discretion. We had some respect for it once; but of late, it seems to be governed by the most utter lack of principle or consistency, in constituting itself to the meanest offices for which the Locofo Democracy choose to engage it. Its recent attempt to bolster Douglas by issuing a spurious edition of his speech for Southern consumption, is a sample of the base uses to which it allows itself to be chartered. And its contradictory falsehoods to screen itself from the discovery of the trick, is a sample of its want of the merest discretion.

It is not the trick, however, for it is used to them, but our discovery of it, which fills it with such fury and wrath against us. It is this which stimulates our whilom "Aminidab Sleek" (for in it all wee plainly detect his well known traits) to discharge his bile and personal venom upon us. Let him persevere in his favorite employment, but he need not expect by such weak appliances to escape from the unenviable position in which he has placed himself and the organ upon which he is employed to "toot." He should remember—that truth is always consistent with itself and needs no such language as he sees fit to indulges in to sustain it; and that that is a weak cause which cannot be maintained without the aid of billingsgate and personal vituperation. In making our exposure of his duplicity and complicated falsehoods, in regard to the two editions of Douglas' speech, we were actuated only by a desire to eliminate the truth. But unable to explain the matter by consistent statements and overwhelmed by confusion, he is guilty of a pitiful outburst of passion, and like a testy schoolboy calls us "rogues," "ruffians," and "fools." Such language as this, he should know, does not in any wise invalidate our charges or answer our arguments. His limited capacity perhaps is sufficient excuse for such childish talk; but we do not care to so forget ourselves as to follow him in the same line.

We have before this broadly hinted that our "Aminidab Sleek," though not cut out for a divine, had very much mistaken his vocation in trying to make an editor of himself. We are

The late Election in Kansas.

The correspondent of the New York *Tribune* records this fact—worthy of especial note, and the more so as being in that "Republican" journal:

In Lawrence, (as I have been told by a gentleman who spent the most of the day there,) where there were two hundred registered voters, the Abolition party instituted a reign of terror, and refused to let any poll be opened at all; and in Franklin the rumor is that the same proceedings have occurred and in precisely the same way. This has simply had the effect of permitting the opposing party to have everything according to their wishes, and cannot be too severely reprehended. It is true the political character of the Convention is a matter of secondary importance, when it is considered that the Constitution will be submitted to the vote of the whole people but, withal, I think the policy of ignoring the election of delegates was unwise, ill-advised, and absurd. If the same course has been pursued by the ultra anti slavery men in the other counties (which I am disposed to think has been the fact) then the consequences may be serious. I believe, however that the Convention will be pretty fairly constituted, and I have no doubt that it will represent, though disproportionately it may be, all the political sentiment of the Territory."

The Lawrence correspondent of the *Tribune* tells the same tale substantially—as to Lawrence and Franklin, but gives no reason for it.

Here we have an explanation of the reason why the vote upon the election of delegates to the convention was so small. Men living in towns where the abolition party had a preponderance were afraid to vote. Men who have alarmed and distressed the entire nation with horrible stories about the incursions of Missourians; about the menaces and threats held over the heads of all who would not vote the "pro-slavery" ticket, are found at Lawrence and Franklin, and perhaps in other towns, refusing to allow their own neighbors to participate in an election. We think these "Topeka" men are about as silly as they are corrupt. They are, by their perseverance in stupidity and crime, rendering themselves as odious in the estimation of the people of the country as were the Border Ruffians at one time. The people of the United States are rapidly arriving at the conclusion that Jim Lane and his Topeka squad of agitators are, if possible, worse than ever the "Missouri gangs" were represented to have been. The country is disgusted with both extremes, and we do not believe that the nation would cry very long or very loud if the Convention would, after framing the Constitution, submit it only for ratification to the sensible rational men who have gone to Kansas, not as political agitators, but for business. We see nothing to be gained by asking men to vote upon a constitution, which, if adopted or rejected, they are sworn to disobey, and who, in anticipation of its adoption, have held a "session of the Legislature" to devise measures of resistance to it. As the dealers and believers in "Topeka," will be as hostile to the new constitution, no matter what its character, as if it were prepared by the Emperor of Russia; and as they have declared it shall never go into operation in that State, we think there is about as much propriety in submitting it to their approval, as there would be in submitting it to the approval of the inhabitants of the Feejee others equally glaring.

W. Herndon

Springfield. Ill. July 24th 1857.

Dear Sir.

I send you to-day 3 Speeches;- one by Sen. Douglas; one by Sen Trumbull, and one by Mr Lincoln. Mr Lincoln has gone to N. G. or he would have sent to you himself. However, I will do just as well, I know, for this small duty - agency or what not.

We are cutting the iron-chain Democracy to the quick; they feel it; they show they feel it - show it in looks, acts and manoeuvres. Douglas has confined his blunder to his private friends, who have by design or by accident let it leak out.

I do not know what you think of the various efforts, but one thing is assuredly certain; it is this: Our Country people say, irrespective of party, that Douglas was whipt for once. I have heard this "many and many a time".

I hope you are getting well; hope you are simply recruiting and not really "under the weather" Give us a blast when you get strong and well.

Yours truly

W. H. Herndon.

Douglas speech is not published as spoken: this one does not correspond to the Mo. Republican Election.

SPRINGFIELD:

THUSDAY MORNING, JULY 2, 1857.

FAIRS IN THE STATE OF ILLINOIS.

STATE FAIR	PEORIA	Sept. 21, 22, 23 & 24
SANGAMON CO.	SPRINGFIELD	Sept. 15, 16, 17 & 18
LOGAN CO.	LINCOLN	Sept. 9, 10, 11 & 12
CHRISTIAN CO.	TAYLORVILLE	Oct. 21, 22 & 23
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MORGAN CO.	JACKSONVILLE	Sept. 8, 9, 10 & 11

The Flounderings of the St. Louis Republican

Our exposure of the publication of the two different versions of Judge Douglas' late speech has occasioned the St. Louis *Republican*, one of the guilty parties, an unusual amount of misery. It howls in agony and rage over the discovery and uses every appliance in its power to free itself from the odium, which justly attaches to it for its agency in the disgraceful work. We were in hopes that that sheet,—unreliable and unworthy of belief as we knew it to be since it sold itself out for a price to the bogus, border ruffian Democracy,—would be able for Judge Douglas' sake to offer a fair and consistent explanation of the discrepancy between the edition of the speech published by itself and that published by the *Register*. But no such thing has been attempted. Its wearisome explanations, its involved circumlocution, its palpable contradictions, and its constant backing and filling, so far from relieving it, rather serve the purpose of binding the toils only the more closely around it. It jumps from one position to another with all the ease of a practiced harlequin, convicting itself of falsehood in almost every sentence and making the truth of the baseness to which it has lent itself only the more palpable and plain.

We have already, by extracts from that stipendiary sheet, shown to our readers how cruelly it has impaled itself. We have exposed the inconsistency of what it has said in explanation at one time with what it has said at another. We have convicted it of falsehood out of its own mouth and we have brought its barefaced mis-statements and glaring contradictions directly home to it. The *Republican*, writhing under our exposure, plainly sees how villainously it has lied and virtually admits as much; but instead of candidly acknowledging its mean attempt at trickery and its base plan by which to dupe the two wings of the party of which it is now acting the part of a mercenary, instead of precipitately retiring from an arena in which it has exhibited its powers to such bad advantage, it forgets itself in its blind and impotent rage; and in lieu of anything like argument, deals out against us personally such a collection of foul billingsgate as would do honor to the vocabulary of a scolding fishwoman or the verriest pothouse politician in the country.

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Chicago Times

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Lincoln's Speech.

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128

W. Herndon

Springfield. Ill. July 24th 1857.

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I hope you are getting well; - hope you are simply recruiting and Rest - really "under the weather" Give us a blast when you get strong and well.

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SPRINGFIELD:

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[redacted]

place them in parallel columns, so as to enable the people to figure it out, and tell us which is the true black republican, and which the bogus:

Lincoln's Speech.	*Trumbull's Speech.*
I am not prepared to indorse or to controvert the views of Judge Douglas in relation to Utah; and if the Mormons are actually in a state of rebellion, I too think some course should be adopted to bring them to submission. As far as I can see there is nothing in what the Judge has advanced but any republican might accede to.	I do not go for the repeal of the organic act of Utah. Under the constitution every man is entitled to a speedy trial. By what right would you transport men from Utah to Iowa or Missouri for trial?
In speaking of the Dred Scott decision Mr. Lincoln says: Who resists the decision? Nobody resists that I have heard of, &c.	On the Dred Scott decision Mr. Trumbull says: I will not submit to this decision. I will never submit to such a construction of the constitution.

The speeches abound in similar differences throughout. At another time we will call attention to others equally glaring.

St Register
July 2/57

W. Herndon

Springfield. Ill. July 24th 1857.

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Yours truly

W. H. Herndon.

Douglas speech is not published as spoken: this one does not correspond to the Mo. Republican Election.

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Herndon.

Springfield, Ill. Sept. 8. 1857.

Dear Sir.

* * * * * * * *

I have been philosophizing on our State lately, and have come to this conclusion - that Illinois is forever gone from the iron-chain Democracy, if the Anti-Slavery men act prudently in putting up brave good men. The reason why I say Illinois is gone, "hook and line", from the Democracy is this - Five out of every Seven Fillmore men will go the Republican cause: there are about 30.000 of them, and giving the Republicans 21.000 and the democrats 9. and taking Buchanan's majority at 7000. we have the tyrants on the hip, with a majority in our favor of about 7000. When we see immigrants coming in, and knowing that 4 out of 5 are for us we cannot doubt longer how Illinois is to stand politically in the future. I have talked to others, and they wholly agree with me: they go further or rather they are more enthusiastic in their calculations than I am. The North of our State is filling up with an unprecedented rapidity, and that Section is wholly free, you know. The South is filling up but slowly, and those who come are generally for freedom - a majority are

Herndon.

St. The late negro murders - butcheries have done us good: it has waked up the idle and indifferent to "look" and try to see. * * * * * *

Yours truly
W. H. Herndon.

Springfield. Ill. Dec. 19th 1857.

Friend Parker.

Dear Sir.

It now has been a long time since I addressed you a letter, and supposing you are rested I propose to slip a word to you. These are curious - mysterious days. What do you think of Douglas' late strike from his masters? We out here have this idea: - He - Douglas - is U. S. Senator, and still wants to be -: If he go the Lecompton swindle he is dead in Illinois; and being defeated here, and for that office, he is dead. Every where, North & South: it is a test for the future. However, if he "bulges" against the Lecompton frame he is at all events gone in the South. Hope springs up and comes to his despair: He says this - "I see my way clear - The North has got the Majority in the Electoral College, and if I oppose this despotism and strike on a man - good, brave and true, I can get the Solid North. By doing this my first expectation is this - I can get back

in the Senate, and in the mean time I will go gradually toward Republicanism and finally deeper - that will do right now I know the Law of the gradual development of Ideas. Before 1860. Kansas, Minnesota - Nebraska Oregon - Washington, and probably more States will have come into this Confederacy, and these will give such an overwhelming majority to the North, that it can beat the South. I am for Freedom - Liberty - : Mr Parker or Wendell Phillips worships no more sincerely or intensely at the Shrine of Liberty than I - Hurrah for Liberty! it is Eternal! - an attributte of God given to Man as an inalienable right! - Blessed day, I am safe! Glory! -

I have no doubt but that this is the Senators reason - none in the world. But the question is - Will he, "like a man", face the music, and So Keep faced? There is the rub. I have no confidence in the man morally - mentally - politically or otherwise. His friends here do not know how to look upon this change. However, they say this - : "Republicanism always before Southern Tyranny - : the South is nothing but a despotism." They do this with great energy and Emphasis, and thank the bright Stars for so much. Buchanan has numerous friends here - Douglas has more. The war between

Herndon.

them is fierce - fiery - full of hate. Douglas will not reap any advantage from this move, though Freedom will - Mark that. The Buck faction here will kill him for the Senatorial Seat. He has slipped, I think: it is too much now to say this will be so: there are not facts enough out yet to declare, this is and must be so: it looks that way.

My notion of this move, if not a base trick, is this - Douglas will be a ranting free States man - hotly and angrily so: There are but 2 sides: if he break loose from the South, he must come Republican, or go deeper and eclipse Phillips. Tell Mr Phillips to guard his Laurels -: Say to him that his friend Herndon says - "Phillips, you have a competitor in the field". Be not surprised at what Douglas does - either one way or the other. Watch the blazing comet. There will be many foul disclosures in this fight. They will tell each other of treachery of each other's rascality: they will taunt each other, and the age and freedom will profit by the quarrel. Robbers have fallen out over the distribution of their bloody booty. The quarrel will be long and bitter, wild and ferocious. Let honest men look on, and laugh or weep, as suits their respective natures. I shall mourn yet rejoice.

The South will "snub" Douglas and

to defend or revenge himself he will fight-
back, and in doing so, he must feel
around for "clubs":— the only clubs are—
1st, Republican ones, and 2d, strong
abolition ones: the first are composed simply
of policy— the second of world— wide truths—
Eternal as well as world— wide. Look out.
If this move of Douglas is simply one of
revenge I do not know what to say— Too soon
to say absolutely this or that—. I think however
that the first part of this letter is the only correct
view of things, so far as they are developed. Our game
and only fight here with Douglas has opened
his eyes. Do you remember this— ? His— Douglas—
Times— said that the Lecompton Constitution
might as well be submitted to the Feejee tribes
as to the People of Kansas." What is your opinion
of things— ? How do the Massachusetts men
look upon this "Squabble"— ?

Can you not write to
me a few lines, and say what you are doing
by way of writing— Speech— making &c &c? Can
you not give me your opinion of Political moves
Give Mr Phillips my best respects, not forgetting
your wife.

Yours Truly,

W. H. Herndon.

Herndons

P. S. If Douglas is fighting for revenge its laws will keep him destructive – keep him true. Do so look out: it is not virtue that moves him. Show this to any person who wants to know how we feel (best – no farther – not public.

W. H. Herndon.

Springfield Ill. Dec. 26th 1857.

Friend Parker,

Dear Sir.

* * * * * *

It is said here that Douglas intends to stand firm on this Kansas – Nebraska bill; but those who say so know nothing about the wily deep – Sagacious Schemer – this – as you said "Wicked Politician." Whoso stands on this Kansas Squatter Sovereignty, expecting thereby to suit – appease the North or South, is an idiot – will fall between the "upper and nether Mill Stone" to be ground to powder –. Douglas is Sagacious – is not a martyr, nor has he an idea of being one. Were he a Phillips or yourself it might be so it would be the same, if he were a Garrison, but not a martyr in the flesh of Douglas. If he supposes that he can say – "the fundamental principles of human liberty" – "the principles of Eternal Justice," and indimate the justice of

Rebellion and Revolution in Kansas by the people, as he did say and insinuate lately openly in the Halls of Congress - and still expect to appease the South; - if, I say, he thinks this I will write down Douglas an "ass" -. He is not, however. He is sagacious: energetic - "wicked" - and he looks and will eternally leap for power; and its laws will control him, as Justice Gallison, or truth Phillips, or Religion you. Douglas must sweep the field I pointed out to you sooner or later - say in 1860 or 1864 - He may not move in a perfect Ecliptic; there will be some perturbations - some occultations behind that red infamy - the Kansas - Nebraska bill; yet the ends of the circle will meet - join and joint -; so says Nature: her mental laws are as universal - necessary and eternal as the Laws of the Physical world. Douglas must gyrate and wheel and blaze and shine there, i. e - Republican - as I said in my first letter to you. He is this day Republican in heart and head though not from honest deep, manly convictions: he is so because power lies there - in the North, and where Power is there are the political buzzards. Some say that he will force Buchanan and Cabinet to swallow his present interpretation of the Kansas band. What! do they suppose that this is not defeat

Herndon.

to the South, and defeat to the South now is defeat forever. This is the point of the South's declination or culmination, and does any man suppose that the South will give up this great crisis without a struggle! — to rot and to die inch by inch, Stinking in the nostril of the Nations and Peoples all round the world! Those who think so ought to have fool branded on their pans. The South may seem to adopt it — I say may seem to do so; yet it will be but a seem. Mr Douglas will in due time become Republican and attempt to lead our forces, and I may have to vote for the wretch. I will do so to kill a worse thing — Slavery.

This, Douglas will do by continuous, gradual slides, and such a sliding scale — why the world never saw. This is his present intention or he sinks into that deep gulf where the nations can never hear his howl; and from the depths of which the whisperings of his conscience will scarcely ever reach the throne of God. He must go South or come North, radically. He sees and knows where he is: he understands his position and its dangers well. He has studied the alternative "friendly" — It may be true that this will take place: = Either Douglas must come Republican, or the Republicans must go Douglas. No doubt but that Douglas will try this

try to draw us to his support—; but this will never be. When Douglas sees this he will be ready to take the leap with a sonorous shout, thus— "Hurrah for Liberty"! Won't that be odd? All these late moves are compliments to human rights— to Man's Freedom & God's Eternal Justice. God Speed their quick evolution and rich development!

I notice in the winds several good signs "round here", and all about us. Democrats come and follow Seward's Speeches— Sumner's— Your Nebraska Speech. Chase's &c.; and they lead them and shout for Liberty as I did, when I was called "crazy"— "ought to be sent to an asylum &c".

The world does move— does it not?

Tell Phillips to sit right down and put out his Speeches— now is the time— none such.

Excuse me— forgive my two long letters.

Show to friends if you wish.

Your Friend
W. H. Herndon.

Springfield. Ill. January 8th 1856

Dear Sir.

* * * * * *

* * *

Douglas is a very curious and exceedingly corrupt man, and no man can exactly tell where he is or will be. Your letter contains some facts and the balance tendencies and philosophy to which I assent with all my heart: it is correct in fact and philosophy —

I am much obliged to you for your two speeches on the "Great Battle". Please therefore accept my thanks — What I write to you is always written in my office amid bluster — confusion and "malicious queries"; and you must therefore look over imperfections and mistakes — can't correct, if I were to save my life. You know a country Law office, and if you do not, just step into one some day and see for yourself.

Though I do not like Douglas — though I despise his character — though I detest the gambling politician — still I say to him — "Seize 'em" — "bite 'em" — kill 'em — choke 'em —: "it is dog eat Dog" with me as with yourself. Does it not seem that Douglas in this matter of Walker is purely moved and driven by spite to Buchanan? Is it not Revenge? * * * * *

Your Friend
W. H. Herndon.

Herndon.

Springfield Ill. Feby. 20. 1858

Dear Sir.

* * * * * * *

Doubtless you remember that I said I agreed to what was in your letter. I did so and do yet. Still I see nothing in it to make me alter my ideas, notions or opinions concerning Douglas, or his flexible moves. Every thing that has happened in Congress and out, since I wrote to you, has only confirmed what I said to you. What I said was "way in advance" of the ideas of others. I stood upon the Law that governs men, and judged all from that stand-point. The Fillibustering moves are gone for the present: the Paulding affair is settled, too, for the present. The blood of "the old fillibuster", however, is in our People yet; and sooner or later it will make its appearance on the surface of the body politic - on the face of the Nation, if you will, thickening the whole frame and discolouring the ruddy cheeks of the Anglo-Saxon.

Though all this is very true, see where Mr Douglas is: he is whipped; he is evidently cowed, and looks up from his degraded position with a kind of a hell-gathered

malignity. Thank God for so much!

President Buchanan is removing the officers in this State: the guillotine works well and fast-and sharp. I say "Cut off their heads" - "gut them - throw them to the dogs - give them to the crows". Buck will create a party here, and the fight will be angry - bitter - hot between Buck's men and Douglas' worthippers. I have a poor brother now in Washington hunting. While he is going fast one way I am going as fast the other, and so the world moves. Of the Administration force the Lecompton Constitution on thise free people, I am for war. I am this day ready to cut out the Cause of all our troubles. The more I think of this question and the more I know of Phillips' and your position the more am I convinced that this People will have to meet the issue on the only field you point out. It must come at last: there is no escape from it. It is the Law of human progress; your paths are the paths on which this progress is to be made. I am for burning out the Cause of Evil. I am for cutting out the nigger, and as I now see it, it is Self-defence for the white man. Harris, from this District, whom I frequently met on the Stump in 1856. takes the same view. He laughed at me, at his home - Petersburg - over my ideas. He has caught them

Herndon.

But does he not see that the Cause must be eradicated before the white men are safe. If the Lecompton Constitution is forced down our People the door every where will be thrown wide open for Garrison - Phillips - yourself and others. This will be a God send.

I now see that there is no freedom - true and genuine Liberty, anywhere in this broad Union: there is no State Sovereignty in the Confederacy, and the only way to right ourselves is through the bloody Bloom of Revolution.

The quicker we get to this point the better for all. This is not a flash - in - the - pan idea but one long struggled against and loathed - hated and detested. If you know me well you know that this is my opinion, and for which I am ready to sacrifice life. Every thing but honor.

I once scorned men who so thought.

Man will develop, and civilization will spread: it is mans Destiny written by the finger of God on the Spirit Surface of man - and in proportion to our individual development, and the spread of civilization, its result, man must rise, and thus must see and hate the sin wrought, which he once worshipped. This is the Law: God says to man "this way my good children - there is no other "and that way we will go through through

glittering steel and crackling fire. The steel wall will rust and rot down - the fires of the torture chambers will go out, but man's destiny shall not perish - No - Never.

Your letter - its philosophic or logical propositions - is well and inimitably put: there is no evasion of the antecedents or the sequents. The men and parties are as you describe them. The poor miserable Irish are the instruments of our cowardly tyrants. The Irish will perish from the stock of humanity, and men of grander type will take their place. Poor fools. Such men as Everett - Choate - Winthrop are more dangerous. I distinctly say that such men as Choate - Everett - Winthrop &c. are more dangerous to Man - to progress - to true Liberty, than the open brawling Irishman. They listlessly sit down, when they have the power to do good, and say nothing for the Encouragement of Mankind. This is practical Atheism. They may pretend to worship a God, but such a God - oh good God! I am happy to know they are sinking into utter insignificance and disgrace - Once I loved all these men, but now I have no words to express my disregard for them.

It may be true that so soon as this Kansas - Lecompton issue is passed, and Kansas is in this Union as a

Slave State, that the Southern men will cast their fillibustering eyes Southward: it is quite likely that this will be so. I "guess" Central America is doomed: then comes Cuba; then more Slave States, and then what?- Good God! Are these People ever to be wake aroused - fired - educated to the fighting point! That man, or set of men who disregards any human being's right - black or white - will take away all other men's rights when the Exigencies seem to demand it. This is the Law, and this People had better learn that law - quickly and well. It does strike me that our people ought to see that the issue is this - "Shall we have no Slavery or Shall it be universal, including white as well as black"?

You have well said that the two - Slavery & Freedom, are at the opposite ends of the human pole - that they are undying and eternal antagonists; - that they bear ideas, and consequently human actions, up to Heaven or down to Hell; and that this antagonism is deeply radicated, eternally planted in the Natures of the two; and if this is so, and which no thinking man can deny, then this follows - Eternal, bloody - unyielding war. Death to the one or the other is inevitable. I know which it will be, but I

Herndon.

do not like bloody Revolutions. I love peace. My whole nature whispers peace, but at the same time it says – "Peace with justice. Wrong with War – Love peace only with justice: tolerate war when it is waged against justice".

You need not tell me your opinion as to the final result of things in America. I know without your telling me. I gather it by instinct – by brute Sagacity. I remember one of your Sermons very well in which you say that you cannot afford to tell the Bottomless the Result of things –: that they could not bear it.

You ask me – if I do not remember that Senator Douglas did not go into the Senate in 1853 and 6. I do, but at the time had no idea of the cause. Since you have mentioned it and coupled it with other things it is as you state the case – have not much doubt of it. The "Senator" was balked: he was disappointed: he is now most emphatically balked – So is the whole western Democracy. The Douglas men here, and in the North part of the State where I have been, look gloomy – talk Spasmodic – Curse Strongly "drink cheap whisky": it does my Soul good to see the devils grind – chaw the bitter cud. However – they will be abolitionists.

Let me ask you a terrible question – "Is not Wendell Phillips'

idea about niggers and the Union the only way to cut the knot? Will not this People be compelled to cut through the Constitution to reach the nigger, and break his chains so as to keep the white man free?

My partner, Mr Lincoln has just got back from Chicago. He says he saw N. B. Judd, who is quite an astute subtle politician he is right from Washington: he says that Douglas is dead - feels bad - is gloomy - is miserable - knows he is lost. Mr Judd says that Buchanan is soon, by and through his friends here - to organize a party in Illinois. This is so I think, and if it turns out true the end of Doug is come: his political grave is dug.

I saw a man from Egypt - a Douglas democrat - the other day, and he says that the men down there refuse to follow Douglas.

I want you to make a Sermon - Speech on or about the 4th day of July, taking this Subject in substance - "The Sweep of Liberty" - the path along which Freedom has travelled since its birth, giving its history &c. When delivered publish -

Your Friend

W. H. Herndon.

Excuse the length of this - could not cut it off.

Herndon.

Springfield. Ill. February 24. 1858.

Dear Sir.

I want to correct an error into which I was led by the telegrams. News did land here that Buchanan was "chopping" off the heads of his "enemies"; quick and fast: it is not so: he has done so to one only, and that one was the Chicago P. M.

Again: I stated to you that Mr Harris had taken a pretty bold stand for Freedom - stood where I did in 1856: this news did come here, but it is not so: he is only pathally with us -. His letter to the N. Y. Democratic Anti-Lecompton party is as far as he goes. I know the man: he will eventually be with the North: he is shrewd - not bold: he is small - technical - not general or great: he is selfish - not generous. * * * * * * *

I received a letter - a reliable one from Washington - that Douglas and Calhoun were belching out "Secrets" against each other in Washington. The letter says that Calhoun will prove by Documents, that Mr Douglas had a finger in making the Lecompton Constitution - if Calhoun is forced to do so. The same letter says that Douglas, if forced, will prove that Calhoun

committed forgery in the Returns &c
I hope each will be forced to open. I say
"apply the Screws."

Mr Douglas — just think
has sent me some documents this morn.
-ing That is something I never expected,
nor desired. The world does move I verily
believe.

What is friend Phillips doing? Is he
preparing his speeches? Will he not do so?

You need only write when you
feel like doing so. I know your business now
better than of old. and excuse you.

Your Friend
W. H. Herndon.

Springfield. Ill. March 4th 1858.

Friend Parker.

Dear Sir.

I received from
you this morning your speech, in Anti.
Slavery Standard made on January 29th
in the H. R.'s Hall. I thank you for it.
I have read it with pleasure, and am
instructed by it. You hit Doug: hard, yet do
him justice. One mistake you labor under,
and it is this this — you say that the People of

Herndon

Illinois would vote for him this day. You are mistaken in this. The cowardly rulers and leaders of the iron-chain Democracy are going over to Buchanan "thick and fast." They are looking for plunder; they are for sale; they serve Ing.

I am on my way to Washington probably start this evening or to-morrow morning and from which place I will write to you, giving my opinion of things - I want to see in Douglas face: I want to look him in the eye. I think I know what he is as well as any man - have seen him enough in all conditions and States.

Your Friend,

W. H. Herndon.

Springfield. Illinois. April 7. 1858.

Friend Parker.

Dear Sir.

I landed at home on the 5-th inst. having improved in body and mind by my trip East. In my travels I was sadly disappointed in individual men, but satisfactorily and gloriously disappointed in the stupendousness and grandeur of Nature. Upon approach to

individual men they seemed to shrink, whilst Nature grew and grandeured upon close jointed acquaintance. I always loved Nature - loved it long and well, and now that childish love has grown and expanded into the reverence of manhood. My ideas of Nature - Laws - God have deepened and broadened - have become warm - rich - eternal in me, and I feel a fresh - vigorous Confidence in the purity of Nature and the eternal and absolute love of God.

* * * * * * *

My opinion of Massachusetts and her people is rather intensified and greatened: it was always tolerably good, and that opinion is not lessened. To her and to her ruling Spirits I remain firm. Boston is a great city - a grand city: it is a world of granite - a city of places and Squares: its basis is a hill of crushed rock, and trode upon by great men. I saw in Boston some of the noblest and handsomest women I ever saw: they will save the race, if the men fail. God help the women of Boston and of Massachusetts. The men of Boston are somewhat cold and incommunicable, but the women are loving and spontaneously good, generous and true. If there is anything that a poor ignorant Yankee like myself can assume or arrogate to himself it is this - namely - an

Verndon

intuitive seeing of human character. I watched you all closely, and am not deceived. I say this good men are generally cold - probably not more selfish than other men; but they are cold - Understand me - I do not say this indiscriminately of all; Good women are warm - maternly - Spontaneously good - And now I say - God Save you all!

By the by - I was greatly disappointed in one man, Specially - I had imagined him a Shrivelled - cold - selfish - haughty man One who was weak and fanatically blind to the charities and equities of life - at once whining and insulting. mean and miserable; but I was most pleasantly disappointed. I found him warm - generous - approachable, and communicative: he has some mirth - some wit, and a deep abiding faith in coming universal charity I was better and more warmly received by him than by any man in Boston; and now who do you think it was? It was this nations great outlaw: it was William Lloyd Garrison. To my western men - my friends. I can give a good account of Garrison. I am not a great Coward. I dare tell a wild and generous people the truth. about any question or any man. I hope you are aware of this by this time.

As to the acts and

deds of our universal reason – as to the material expresions in a scientific point of view, of those intellectual conceptions of the brain; and as to the combined efforts of mind, which find expresion in combinations of power and modifications of forces, working and toiling in mills and machinery generally the world must acknowledge Massachusetts Master.

I had no time to study her thousand branches of the Sciences and the arts; and consequently I Studied what I saw whilst I ran. I almost reflected whilst I slept: it was all new to me and was exceedingly intetesting to one who is green. I say this with the same candor that I have talked about men and things in this letter. I know my faults positive and negative. I was not reared in great cities or in costly halls and am not up to their civilities, or rather forms of civilities. I blunder here and ell, and all that I can say is – "Excuse" – "Forgive my trippings" –

Now just all this together – men – manners – intellect – power – Nature – material and Spiritual, natural and modified – Law – Boston – machinery – the arts and Sciences, God holding all – How can a poor western devil help being surprised – overwhelmed amid a confusion of men and things –

Now as to you

Wendon.

personally: I heard your Sermon on Sunday two weeks since, and was at once highly pleased and gratified with the production. The Sermon was deep - rich - broad and generous, giving all their due: it was bottomed upon a grand Social political, and religious philosophy - the highest result of human genius gathered in all the ages: it was reason's widest and best experiences and reflections in a Kantian Sense: I mean in a Scientific psychologic Sense - the highest efforts of human reason - pure. I do not say this <u>because it is you</u>: I say it because it is true, and I think I understand the elements of the Beautiful, the Good, and the True - at least <u>feel</u> them, if I cannot logically comprehend them. I was gratified at the <u>immensity</u> of your audience - was surprised at the number of men and women who come to hear you - to learn and grow wiser & better through you. Technical Theology is odious and it can never comprehended, much less invade the threshold of "Music Hall." Here let Humanity - Duty - Charity - God reign forever Supreme!

My whole trip was one of delight - amusement - pleasure and profit, bating a little for disappointments. I am highly gratified with the results of my short travel, <u>in spite</u> of rebuffs.

* * * * * * * *

Herndon.

Give my best respects to Mrs Parker and show this to whom you please.

Your Friend
W. H. Herndon.

My best respects to Garrison.

Springfield, Illinois, April 17. 1838

Dear Friend.

This moment I received your two Sermons on the Revival, which madden the People: it is Spasmodic and will not last: it is not guided by reason or philosophy, and is simply a feeling that will in the end die out leaving the Soul in the centre of darkness: or will finally prepare them for a True God-given Revival guided by reason and philosophy. I have seen too much and too many of these revivals to fear them, or scarcely respect them. I love adore - reverence with my whole Soul Religion: it is as deep in me as my Being, but Spasmodic feeling is not Religion: it is undeveloped feeling and I respect its Source. I have not read your Sermons but Know you: I thank you for them candidly and Sincerely: they will go abroad here. I will read them to Mentor - will read them well, for it is Sunday will be. Friend, I am indebted to you very much - more than I have ever told you

Herndon.

concerning this subject. Your guidance holds me steady - calm, and I look up to God with hope - faith philosophized, knowing that what He has made He has made out "of a perfect material - for a perfect purpose and for a perfect end" and whose eternal Laws will lead thereto. There may be some Special things that you and I may differ on, but that makes no difference.

Will you please send me your Speech in pamphlet form delivered in Legislation Hall sometime since. I understand it is so published.

Our politics are getting warm, and Douglas sends out feelers to us to trade, but as yet our men stand firm. Propositions have absolutely been made, and which I have heard read. They do not purport to come from Douglas, but you know - you understand, do'nt you?

Your Friend.
W. H. Herndon.

Private. wholly so.

In Court. Springfield, Illinois. April 27th 1858.

Dear Sir.

* * * * *

We have had a great double headed

Herndon.

Democratic meeting here. one Buchanan and the other Douglas: they were deeply inimical, malicious, and withering in their mutual curses and political damnations. oh what a Sight! Plunderers of the People now at bloody war with each other over the Spoils. The Douglas convention was slavey - timid and frightened: it acted cowardly. Buchanan was brave - manly - courageous in the hell - deep iniquity: it was Luciferlike in act and deed and we in Illinois anticipate a terrible struggle. Do not forget that it is to be a war to the knife and to the hilt - no quarters are to be asked or given; and this the Republicans have unanimously and considerately - calmly pondered and agreed to - So look out for squalls.

I have a letter this day from friend Greely: his talk about Douglas is policy: he explains, and tells us to stand to our own men and principles; and to run them and none others - wants Buchanan men beaten - more than the Douglas men. This is private. Our boys here did not like Greeley's counsel but all is O. K. now.

Your Friend
W. H. Herndon.

Springfield. Illinois May 29. 1858.

Dear Sir.

* * * * * * *

Herndon.

; and so came this desire of Education. You may say "How educated?" This way I answer. I wanted to see the places of Revolutionary memory, and the three living institutions of Boston - Garrison Parker and Phillips. Here are things and persons, and when I wanted to speak of things I could talk knowingly; and when such men as you were thrown in the way of the Republican March for base purposes, and by mean men for most infamous ends, I wanted to say to the vile slanderer "You lie, Sir". I expected two results to spring therefrom - first political advantage - or rather justice and secondly a benefit to you personally in this: it would have put you right; and then eternal truth could have easily followed. I know that this makes no difference to you, but it does to me. This is a candid telling of the "why". Could I have had the pleasure of having sat down and talked to you - three of you, I should have liked it much, but as it so happened I did not: it was not my fault: I was in Boston ten whole days, and no living man came to see me. This is all right: I do not complain, though I must say what I once said to you - I was somewhat disappointed - disappointed is all: and now suppose I was disappointed - do you suppose that this will make me dislike you - alter my respect for you? God forbid! You know me too little purpose

Herndon.

if you think I am so small and malicious as that. * * * * * * * *

We are to have a Republican convention here - in this city - on June 16th. The Buchanan Convention comes off here on 7th of June. We expect to have fun at the latter. Douglas, it is said, is to be crushed by the Administration: it does not look that way, if we are to judge from what has lately happened in Congress.

Friend Greeley seems determined that this shall not be, if he can help it: though he sacrifice the Republicans in Illinois Politicians will use other peoples paws to pull the chesnuts out of the fire. Greeley hurts - injures - damages us in Illinois, while he is trying to sustain Douglas.

Have you seen in the last three or four months published a Sermon called the Substantial and circumstantial or something like it? If you have send to me.

I have made two political Speeches since I saw you - one in this city and one in Petersburg - took high ground for Freedom.

Your Friend

W. H. Herndon.

Springfield, Illinois, June 1st 1858

Friend Parker.

I want to talk politics to you a

Herndon.

moment, leaving all other things "way behind".
Do you remember, when I was in Boston I told
you that Douglas said: "Do not put any
confidence in what Greeley says about his
information in relation to the non-papage
of Lecompton constitution?" if you do - has not
Douglas proved a prophet once in his villanous
life? He told me at the same time that he
and the Republicans would be together
soon, on some moves = i.e. Cuba and Central
Mexican affairs; and now as his word was
good in one particular let us put a little
confidence in "Hell is dread prophet" on this
question of his about Cuba and Mexico. I under-
stand it comes by good authority - that these very
questions are now before the Cabinet, for consultation
and action. I guess the information comes thus:-
Douglas is chairman of the Territorial
Committee, and consequently would probably
know in that capacity what was on the boards
officially, though political honor (bah!) would
prevent him from telling it "out"; yet he must tell
it to a few friends, so as to get them to commence
opening - out howling, that he may be saved in
Illinois; or to prepare the rank and file of what is
to come, i.e. Douglas ideas. This is a great world,
is it not my friend? I can sit in my office and
know thus what is going on in Washington long

before it is known by the public. There is a human pulse telegraph that plays with its instinctive batteries "way" to Washington from this place. "We are sound" out here "in human natur". * * * * * *

We are warned - I was told that all things were not yet quite ready. Do not understand me as saying that Douglas has sent the word: that is my opinion. What we get is by leakage. When I say Cuba and Central American affairs as before remarked, let me say, Douglas did not heave out exactly those very words, but that was his meaning. The reason why I qualify is this. I do not want to misstate Douglas, nor mislead you, nor lie myself. This is my excuse for qualification. You know I am positive when I stand right on truth. If this Cuba question is to come on as I wish she would come quickly - come corruptly and despotically tyrannizing, making the land bleed and groan under its bloody march. This is all that will ever rouse our people from their sacred devotion to the "Almighty dollar".

Your predictions - all through your speeches - are soon to be verified, and then I will put you down, as I have Douglas, a prophet, and only in that particular will I liken you to Douglas. The run-drawn parallel you would not like.

Herndon.

would you? We, the Republicans, out here are
comparing hands - seeing how we all feel. Stand
so that we may go into the "great battle" of 1858-9
in Illinois, between Slavery & Freedom - Douglas
and Lincoln - Democracy and Republicanism -
it will be a life and death fight between
Democracy and Republicanism. So far as
Democracy is concerned. If she goes gurgling
down beneath the red waves of Slaughter she is
gone and gone forever. Not so with Republicanism
She is young, vital and energetic, and so can
survive a defeat - yea - grow on it: it will stiffen
her back bone - harden its pulpy frame - I will
do all I can to hold the leaders hands up.

By the by, I see that Redmond says you
are not a good anti-Slavery man - glad he said
that. I will explain sometime - cannot now -

Are you going to speak, or have you so done,
before the Anti-Slavery Society New England? If
you do, and you publish your speech send to me,
and I will be much obliged.

Your Friend
W. H. Herndon.

Springfield Illinois June 18. 1858.

Dear Sir.

Enclosed is the Speech of Mr Lincoln's

at our recent Republican Convention. The speech is very good - read it. We have had the best and largest convention ever held in our State - more talent and more virtue.

Send me your late speech in pamphlet form when out.

Your Friend.
W. H. Herndon.

Springfield, Illinois. July 8th 1858

Dear Friend.

I thank you for yours of July 1st; and agree with you that Douglas has blundered. We feel that he has committed great faults, and cannot ever recover therefrom. He is dead. Had we a fair apportionment in this State we Republicans could beat him 20. on joint ballot; but as it is, the apportionment having been made when we were very young and wild, not so densely populated as now, he may defeat us. There are some complications, which it would take too long to explain that hinder us. Some old Senators held over, elected long ago - and whose Districts are wholly revolutionized; they belong to the Republicans, but there is no way of reaching the Evil. Time will set us right, and give us

Herndon.

our Rights. Our State ticket will be elected without much trouble; but as to Lincoln there may be some doubts. These doubts will energize us. fire us. move us.

Mr Lincoln's Speech is quite compact nervous. eloquent: it is the best Executive Expression of the ideas of politics. Republicanism as at present organized, that I have seen. Stump orators will take higher and more lofty grounds. Prudence is written all over the political world, and we cannot help it. Do not blame us for not jumping higher just now. Remember your great Law of the historic continuity of the development of ideas, and then you will say— "All is right."

Douglas is not a Democrat: he is not a Republican; he is <u>nowhere</u>. Do you remember my former letters? He is trying to build up a third party, or trying to re-organize one out of the fragmentary elements — North and South. He is crazy —! God has made His organizations, and Douglas cannot unmake them. Time — say 15 years — God will again move.

Your Friend.

W. H. Herndon.

P. S. Thank you for your Speech — have read it —; it is very good. You are quite a political or constitutional constructionist. W. H. H.

Herndon.

Springfield Illinois. July 24. 1858.

Dear Sir.

I this day received from you your fourth of July Oration I thank you most sincerely. I have read it carefully, and say it is most excellent - quite eloquent. Again I thank you for it.

We are now approaching a very animated - warm - energetic canvas; and if it do not get into personalities, it will be a great, and I think, a grand canvas. I fear that personalities will creep into the debate. Mr Lincoln takes broader and deeper grounds now than he did in his Springfield Speech. I told you the Speakers would do so, and even Lincoln had to follow. The canvas opens deep and rich; but we Republicans have a clever villain to combat. Douglas is an ambitious and an unscrupulous man; he is the greatest liar in all America; he misrepresents Lincoln throughout, and our people generally are not logical enough to see the precise manner, point and issue of deception Douglas holds up in glaring letters "Squatter Sovereignty", which he knows is dead and buried beneath the Dred Scott case. It suits Douglas' purposes however, and he

Herndon.

fiddles on it quite cunningly and shrewdly. Politics are a great game, and delusion is its greatest power. The politician who knows the game and can use that delusion the cunningest is the greatest man. Hurrah for politics - Bah!

I spoke in this City on Thursday evening to a crowded house - spoke to the Republican young men. I am the young men's friend, and am not without influence there. I shall always use it for the Eternal Rights, popular or unpopular.

Your Friend.

W. H. Herndon.

Springfield. Illinois. July 28th 1858.

Dear Sir.

I told you a few days since, that I made a Speech here to our Republican Club. I send you a piece cut from the Illinois Journal, which gives one phase of that Speech. I really think it is Law. and am going to urge it on the Stump ready to back it up by analogy, reason and the Constitution. If the Democracy can carry this case - the inhumanity to the Black

Herndon.

fore the Young ... Thursday evening. There was one point, however, made by Mr. Herndon in reference to the Dred Scott decision, which besides being new, is so important that we ask the careful attention of our readers to it. It is a startling view of the doctrine of the Dred Scott case, which decides that negroes are not "citizens," under the Constitution of the United States.

It is known that under the ruling of the Supreme Court in the above case, personal suits in the United States Courts must be "between citizens" of the United States. The following from the second section of the third article of the Constitution is the provision:

"The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law or equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, treaties, &c.; to all cases * * * *between citizens of different States,*" &c.

In pursuance of the Constitution and soon after it was adopted, Congress executed the power above specified by passing an act, of which the following is one of the provisions:

"The Circuit Courts shall have original cognizance, concurrent with the Courts of the several States, of all suits of a civil nature at Common Law or in Equity, where * * the suit is between a *citizen* of the State where the suit is brought and a *citizen* of another State," &c.

This law was passed in 1789 and is almost literally copied from the Constitution, necessarily conforming to it and limited by it throughout. We ask our readers to mark well the wording of the clause: "*between citizens of the different States.*" It will be seen that it is necessary that *both* parties to the suit, not only the plaintiff but the defendant must be "*citizens.*"

Now, the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, has decided that a negro is not "a citizen" within the meaning of the above clause of Constitution; that is, that he cannot sue in the United States Courts *because he is not a citizen.* As, however, by the terms of the Constitution, both parties to the suit must be "citizens;" if the negro is incapable of suing, he is equally incapable of being sued. If he cannot be plaintiff in the action, neither can he be defendant, for he is no more a "citizen" in the one position than in the other.

Let us illustrate. Suppose a negro of Illinois owes a white man of Missouri a thousand dollars, which he refuses to pay. The white man brings suit in the United States Court against the negro to recover the debt. Upon the trial, in spite of himself, he is thrown out of court and loses his debt, because the suit is not "between citizens." One is a "citizen," but the other is a negro; and according to Dred Scott decision the Courts can give him no remedy. The Judge tells the white man—"Go out of Court; you have sued a negro; it is decided that a negro is not a citizen, and the Constitution says all suits *must be between citizens.* The Constitution is the Supreme law of the land and must be obeyed. Go out of Court."

Such is an outline of Mr. Herndon's argument, which he elaborated at length and fortified by the strongest authorities. We believe Mr. Herndon's point cannot be controverted; and that the Dred Scott decision which places a disability upon negroes by saying they are not citizens, works a most glaring wrong and outrage upon the white man, by leaving him without remedy against them in the United States Courts and by making the negro wholly irresponsible for his contracts.

We ask intelligent men to examine this dictum of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, now so boldly indorsed and defended by Mr. Douglas, and ask themselves whether the Democracy are tending in this Government made for white men that they cannot be protected in their rights in their own Courts?

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they can enslave
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government", and if
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W.

Hern

[redacted] the principles of our Constitution, and the designs of the present Administration, showing that the real policy of the former was to limit and ultimately extinguish the institution of negro slavery; while the design of the latter was to extend, legalize And nationalize the institution of slavery throughout the country."

He then exposed the cunning and treachery of Senator Douglas in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, placing in its stead the pretended doctrine of popular sovereignty, assuring the people that it would confer a superior power upon them, namely the right to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way; when at the same time Judge Douglas knew that his bill would do no such thing, but on the contrary would deprive the people of a territory of the power to either to exclude or prohibit slavery from among them, as has since been brought to light in the Dred Scott decision, now supported by Judge Douglas.

Mr. Herndon's remarks upon the Dred Scott decision, the Missouri Compromise, and the policy of Senator Douglas, were sharp and well put, and elicited frequent applause from the audience.

He then went on to make a comparison between the progress of the North with its free institutions, and free white laborers, and the progress of the South with its slave institutions. This part of his speech was very interesting, and we are sorry we have not room in to-day's issue to notice his statistics.

Mr. Herndon concluded his speech amidst the enthusiastic cheers of the audience.

A committee consisting of Dr. Long, Mr. Nicholay and J. Armstrong, were appointed to report on permanent organization at the next meeting.

The meeting then adjourned till the 31st of July.

Herndon.

Springfield. Illinois. August 29th 1858.

Dear Sir.

* * * * *

Now for politics in Illinois. Mr Lincoln spoke at Ottawa on Saturday. Mr Douglas also spoke there: this was their first place of meeting. We have not heard from them, but we Republicans know how the debate ended, if Lincoln was well. Lincoln will deliver a speech there that will do himself credit. He is too much of a Kentucky gentleman to debate with Douglas; ie. he will not condescend to lie: he will not bend to exploding: he will not hug Sherm. and so he labors under a disadvantage in this State; yet he will take hold of Douglas and prove the Conspiracy to enslave America on him. He has got the documents and will shoot the charge home. Judge Trumbull made a very fine speech at Chicago, a week or so since, which you have seen, doubtless: it was what we call out West a clincher, or what you call a crusher. Politics are getting hot - angry, and somewhat furious here: we are determined to kill off Douglas if we can by honest - fair and manly means. We will resort to no wrong - no baseness - no demagogueism.

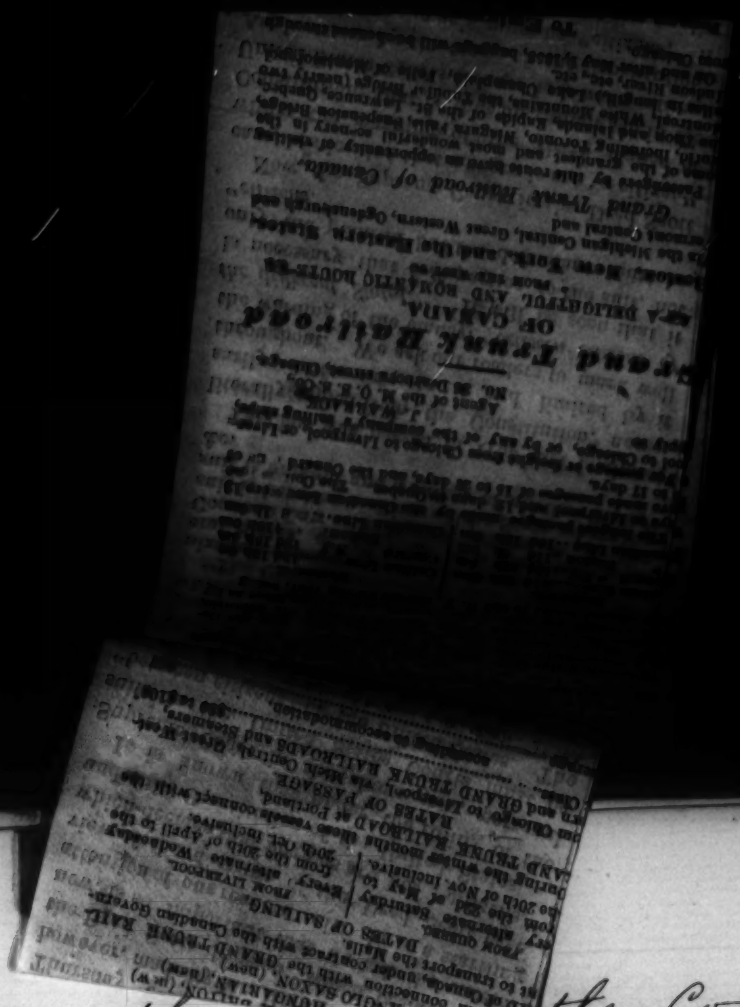
Herndon.

and the Constitutional rights of the whites; - if they can enslave all the Territories under the title of "Sacred rights of self government", and if they can do so, as they have done in Kansas for four years in the name of Constitutional Law - then they can enslave the white man and dethrone God under the name of Democracy.

Yours truly,

W.

I send these things Sir other purpose than to let duty - will soon take go over the State or at least



the framers of our Constitution, and the designs of the present Administration, showing that the real policy of the former was to limit and ultimately extinguish, the institution of negro slavery; while the design of the latter was to extend, legalize And nationalize the institution of slavery throughout the country.

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Herndon.

Springfield, Illinois. August 23rd 1858.

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Herndon.

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for four years in the Mas
Law - then they can enslav
and dethrone God an
Democracy.

Yours truly.

W. H. Herndon

I send these things simply and for no
other purpose than to let you know I am on
duty - will soon take the Stump and
go over the State or at least through the centre.

W. H. H.

Herndon.

Springfield, Illinois. August 23rd 1858.

Dear Sir.

* * * * *

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no trickery or "trappery". We have charged Douglas with a Conspiracy to enslave America, and we think the proof incontestible incontrovertible. The whole free, as well as Slave States look on this Illinois battle, we suppose, with a good deal of interest. How is it? This State is being fired up from Cairo to Chicago, and from Paris to Quincy, from Centre to Circumference. Our Republican friends take high and elevated grounds for Freedom - as high as our People will bear, just now. What we may do in the future I cannot say. You know the undercurrents as well as I do - better than I dare dream.

Why is it that your Eastern people are for Douglas. I mean your Leaders? If you have a friend, whom you wish to go to the White House, tell him to keep his fingers out of our fight. Keep his wishes to himself, if he is for Douglas. Greeley had better attend to N. Y.; he will have all he can do to attend well to that. There is something in the wind, which is not to-day graspable; it will come sometime. I think I know what it is and where it originated and to what it tends. I will tell you in due time - before 1860.

I am not making speeches - send you a slip noticing one I made

Herndon.

in Logan Co. some few days since. There are some mistakes in this, and the one I sent you before, for which I am not accountable. I do not write them, nor dictate them even. Your good sense will detect the errors. How is Phillips?

Your Friend
W. H. Herndon

[redacted]

statement of the principles of the Republican party on the great questions of the day, as opposed to those of the National Democracy and the Douglas bolters. The right of the negro as guaranteed in the Declaration of Independence, to his "life," to his "liberty" and his "pursuit of happiness," were admitted; but the speaker denied the inference drawn from such admission that he liked the African better than he did his own race; he contended that, liking his own race best, he wished them to have the largest share possible of every right conserved to them by the fathers of the Republic; he didn't want any man in the Republic to out-vote the poor man with Negro votes; that was not only the "Negro equality" which the Douglasites talked about—it was Negro superiority that he disliked. Mr. H. took up the Dred Scott case, and showed that, while the Douglasites were yelping "Abolitionism" and prating about the "Negro equality" of the Republican party, they were absolutely contending for the superiority of the Negro over the white man. The Dred Scott decision decides that the Negro is not a citizen, and cannot sue in the Supreme Court of the United States. Now, argued Mr. H., if a negro wrongs a white man in such a way that the wrong is great, though not punishable criminally, the white man can get no redress because the Negro, though as rich as a Nabob, is not suable in the Supreme Court. Mr. H. gave several illustrations of the manner in which a negro could, by virtue of Judge Taney's decision, take every advantage of a white man. He might have mentioned the Mrs. Gaines case, so fresh in memory. Some of the interested defendants in that suit were Negroes—property holders in New Orleans—and had the new wrinkle prevailed when that case came up, it must have been thrown out. If the Democracy don't get as sick of this Dred Scott decision as they are of Nebraska, we are mistaken.

to Herndon.

Springfield, Illinois, August 31st 1858

Dear Sir.

I have but a moment to spare, and I propose to devote it to you. I am now not this instant out on the Stump, doing all the good I can for Republicanism; namely Liberty. The politics now in our State are in the blue-hot condition; it has ceased to spark but now it burns. Mr Lincoln and Senator Douglas have had two "hitches" - two debates and it is the opinion of good sensible men that so far Lincoln has the decided advantage.

In their late debate at Freeport Douglas took the stand that at present we needed no more territory. You remember I told you that Douglas told me, at Washington, that he would oppose the acquisition of Cuba, Central America &c.: he seems as good as his word.

You know what I told you he said about the passage of Lecompton: it turned out as he said; and doubtless you recollect other pledges he made me, and which I told you when in Boston. When I once told you by letter, that if I could once "look Douglas in the eye", I could tell what he intended, you supposed doubtless, that I was quite arrogant. did you not?

By the by - do you remember what I told you

about fiend Greeley - i.e. that the Republican platform was too "Sifalutin" - too abstract, in his opinion, and that it ought to be lowered - "Slid down" ? What is now unfortunately taking place. I fear that the Republican platform will get deeper in the "Hell" - direction than the old whig platform of measures. I hope you will continue to remember my conversation with you, not because I said it, but because what was said was uttered by greater men. I always tell you the truth neva dodge.

If you remember our State is a peculiar one politically. First we have a North which is all intelligence - all for freedom. Secondly, we have a South, people from the sand hills of the South, poor white folk; (these poor whites are chivalrous, goood open-hearted men,) pro-Slavery & ignorant "up to the hub"; and thirdly (we have a belt of land, say 75 miles in width, running from the West bank of the Mississippi river to the Wabash - to Indiana and running from North - Bloomington to Alton) On or upon this Strip or belt of land this "great battle" between Lincoln and Douglas is to be fought and victory won. On this belt are three clases of individuals - first Yankees - Second intelligent Southerners, and thirdly poor whites. I now speak sectionally. Again: on this belt are four political shades of party politics. First Republican

Herndon.

Second American - old whigs - thirdly Douglas Democrats, and fourthly National Democrats - Buchanan men - "Quite a muss." Two of these parties are acting as one: they are the Republicans and the Fillmore men: they have a majority over both factions of the Democracy. The materials we have to struggle against are roving Buffalo Catholic Irish backed and guided by corrupt and villanous Douglas: they can do no good to the Douglas Democracy in the North: they will be turn down here on pretense of getting a job, and so in the closely contested fight, they will carry we fear, the uncertain counties. These "Hell doomed" Irish are all for Douglas, and opposed, here, to the National administration.

I hope you can understand this complication. I give it to you as my opinion, and the opinion of good honest Republicans that we will crush out Douglas-pro-Slaveryism. I give it now as my present opinion that Lincoln will be the next U. S. Senator for Illinois.

Private, except to Special friends

Wm. H. Herndon.

Herndon.

Springfield, Illinois, September 2nd 1858.

Dear Sir.

I wrote to you on yesterday a hasty letter, but I hope you can understand; and now I am just on the eve of taking another tour, just having got back. My object in bothering you is this. I want to put the facts of this canvass clearly before you, so that you may form a tolerably correct opinion. My letter on yesterday was specially devoted to conditions of localities, and to the complication of parties.

Now in this I propose to speak specially of the State of feeling - first in the individual, and then in whole masses. You are awake that I am a kind of "clever boy" among our people, and consequently all treat me respectfully - go all places and say all things. This gives me a view of the family circle. Here I hear them talk and sputter out in their own way - look out of their own eyes. I state to you from this stand point, that the Spirit of Liberty - freedom every way, is flooding out - and clothing the outer clouds with fields of gold and fire. This is not only so in the Republican but it is so with respect of the Democratic Agricultural Class. There is really a "buzz" here, deep & strong. This disposition has reached to places very

remote. In places that I came near being mobbed in 1835 and 6. are this day awake to truth, and are somewhat aroused on all questions of freedom. This is so in Religion. One good thing has resulted from Douglas war on the clergy: it has opened the peoples eyes in that direction: they have in fact commenced a series of free enquiries.

"The world wags", I opine you. I have been "on the fly" in the South part of our State "organizing" clubs &c. &c. and know what I am talking about. The huge mass begins. just begins to move: it moves, it is true, heavily and grumblingly, yet it does move. This is the State of individuals and the condition of the masses. Apply this as you will do, and it follows that the people are ready to hear. do hear Douglas & Lincoln Five thousand go - ten - twenty - thirty - it is said go.

In the debates between Douglas and Lincoln Douglas is mad - is wild and sometimes I should judge "half seas over". Douglas gets mad: he calls Lincoln a liar - calls Trumbull a liar. I heard Judge Trumbull here a few days since, and I saw him demonstrate that Douglas struck out of the Toombs bill that provision which required a submission of the "Lecompton"

Herndon.

constitution to the people. I saw him demonstrate that Douglas put an other provision in the Bill absolutely - prohibiting the people from voting on the Constitution. These things I saw proved by the original papers, printed at Washington

Again: Douglas says that the Republicans of Illinois in 1854, paped some Resolutions, as their platform: he makes this charge boldly at Ottowa, and now at Freeport they prove that the ones he - Douglas - read are base forgeries, never having been paped by the Republicans. He is compelled by public indignation in all parties to withdraw these these forgely charges: he does so, and basely charges Maj. Harris, as the perpetrator the first Cause of his - Douglas - mistakes. Again: he aserts that in 1854-5-6 that he was in favor of "Squatter - Sovereignty" and said so on a thousand Stumps - real Squatter Sovereignty - i.e. that the People of the Territories might drive Slavery out at any time. Mr Lincoln is prepared by one of Douglas' own Speeches - printed one - that Douglas was the other way: in short that he wilfully lied. So it goes. While Douglas enunciates "lie", "lie", "blackguards" &c, they are demonstrating to vast crowds by the record, that he is a good liar and a political forger. The whole State is up in arms,

politically So I mean. very high excitement rolls and chafes: it really foams—

Your Friend
W. H. Herndon

Believe me - Douglas is losing ground every day - Lincoln is gaining every day. As Douglas sinks, Lincoln rises. We are getting along finely - grandly - Douglas is "Sorter" cooled. W.H.H.

Springfield. Illinois. Sept 11th 185[illegible]

Dear Sir.

* * * * * *

I wholly agree with you about Horace Greeley but dared not say so before to you. He is, I think, an honest man, but a great Special fool. He wants a guide to his brain: he is full of whims and crochets, writing up absurdities; and in no one principle is he a greater ninny than on the subject of "National political Economy." Here he is way behind the age - here he loses sight of principles, which flages all around him. He struggles for Liberty, but refuses absurdly so, to follow it to its just practical results. He is a good man, but he does not see the force or logic of principle - is not ready or does not see "ahead" - refuses to let principle carry him to its logical results.

Herndon

By the by, Greeley has done us infinite harm here in Illinois, and is still doing so: he is this way and that - is no way, and this course here injures us very much. He and Douglas have an allangement, which I will explain to you soon, as it is charged and as I understand it. You remember what I told you about Greeley & Douglas: i. e., what they mutually told me when on my trip on East:

We are getting very warm here. boiling, and the Republican Cause is progressing - gaining rapidly every day.

I send you herein a "leaf" of Lincoln's Speech made in the City Sometime since. This will explain our difficulties.

Your Friend
W. H. Herndon.

Springfield, Illinois, September 20th 1858

Dear Sir.

* * * * * *

There is one thing I forgot to answer in your former letter, and it was this - "Seward will be our next candidate for the Presidency". This was your opinion, but let me say, I doubt it. There is something in the wind, the full

idea of which - the full comprehension of which I do not gather. My opinion is that to get the K. N.'s, north as well as south, our Republican platform will be lowered so low that Seward will not stand on it: or if he would that he is not the man to suck to himself all the floating materials on the great sea of politics. Look out for cowardly expediency! Watch! I admit with you that if he is the candidate and is elected that the iron wedge is then ready, and will be driven, so that as the things split, the fibres along the lines of the crack will sing from the intensity of the blows. Friends, from us loved them just now. Men are cruel, and politicians are cowards, crucifying God in their base cowardice, as they go onward.

I have often said to you that Greeley has done us infinite harm in this State, and now let me explain. First: Greeley. Seward. Reed and Douglas, by accident or otherwise, met in Chicago in the Month of October 1857, and soon after it was announced to me - officially, but privately, that Senator Douglas was a Republican. I did not see these men in Chicago, though I believe they were - so informed. This is the substance of the contract at Chicago. Douglas said to Greeley &c. "You support me for

Herndon.

the Senate, and I will support Seward for the Presidency, and take my chance for the Senate office in time". "Agreed" said the crowd. The New Yorkers went Eastward, and Douglas stayed at home, insinuating that he was Republican &c. It somehow turned up that Judge Trumbull was told of this; but he rebelled; his friend Lincoln not having been consulted in the trade; and so the matter fell to the ground. This accounts for Douglas savage attacks against Lecompton. Greeley found out that he could not rule us - could not turn us over to Douglas, and so the bargain was null and void; and so this accounts for Douglas late pro-Slavery tendencies. So wags this great political world. This too accounts for Greley's support of Douglas. Haskin &c at first, and now the cold and cowardly advocacy of Lincoln. Here then is the whole matter as well as I can get it. There is yet - do not forget - an agreement to lower the Republican flag, so that all grey-headed cowardly shrivelling conservatives, North as well as South, may gather upon a degraded plank. I say look out!

I now hold in my hand a letter from a certain Senator of the United States - good heavens would you believe it! acknowledging something - substantially -

Herndon.

which amounts to a partial confession of this Douglas-Lincoln phase of things. I cannot state all - it's private. I told you once, if not oftener, that if I could look Douglas in the eye I could tell what was going on. I did so, and told you all I dare, when in Boston. Doubtless you thought I was assumptive - foolish, yet time will show what I said. There is a peculiar tie which binds men together, who have drank "bouts" together. So with Douglas and my humble self. I am hard to fool, friend by man. I can read him about as well as he knows himself. Excuse this arrogance. I brought this news to our town, and it astonished Lincoln and our boys, and thunderstruck the Chicago Tribune &c. One of my reasons for being in Boston may now be accounted for. Do you understand?

I will finish in my next.

Your Friend
W. H. Herndon.

(Wholly confidential)

Springfield, Illinois, September 23rd
1858.

Dear Sir.

In my last letter of the 2d ct. instant I was detailing, or trying to do so, how Greeley hurt us out in Illinois. You know what I said.

Herndon.

Bell, Secondly, we were like innocent fools waiting out there to hear Greeley open in his great Tribune: we expected that he would open the ball, but no signal boom came, and we grew restively cold, and our party slumbered as with a chill - a bivouac of death upon an iceberg, until we waked and shook off the frost that gathered upon our mantles, staffs, and flags; and now without Greeley, and in Spite of Greeley, we are daily conquering a victory by our own energy and power, and if you will, eloquence. Greeley's treachely or indifference came near killing us - defeating us in Illinois. So much for the treacherous or indifferent conduct of a great leader, and a supposed friend. It all now seems strenge and mysterious; but the facts are before us, and from which there is no escape. Greeley was daily playing into the hands of the pro-Slavery camp. Had Douglas been elected - had we not organized the Republican forces in Illinois this year, we should have been disorganized in 1860, and thrown into the great Traitors arms - Douglas' arms: and he would have sold us to the Charleston convention in 1860: or if he could not we would have been powerless, because disorganized. The whole People of all the United States may thank us in Illinois for our instincts. This will all appear in due time, and

and your Yankee tradels will be ashamed of themselves. I mean no disrespect to you. You are true.

Again: You perceive that Greeley is already lowering the Republican flag. the Republican platform: we are not free from his influence yet. When Greeley made that mean and miserable speech of which you speak, it came out to Illinois and we had to follow suit - were compelled to follow him. Why, the pro. Slavery dogs would say, did say that we the Republicans were more fanatical - more abolition - than Greeley; and thus you see the downward tendencies of things, and now you have the cause of Lincoln's backdown, and Greeley is the author: the cause of the downward slide. That speech of Greeley's and his cowardly Editorials will reach throughout the whole North, and East, and North west. Mark it.

This is a great world - wide treachery, but it is done and it cannot now be helped. I wrote an article for Greeley's paper, notifying the world what was coming, but he refused to publish it.

So I did to one of your Boston papers, and it was there refused, and so I came to the Conclusion that this treachery was firmly fixed - wide spread and universal and so I quit writing except in Illinois. Here then is the cause of our wrongs, and Greeley and others are the authors in my

Herndon

opinion. I agree with you that Greeley's conduct is most base, foul, and damnable! What can we do? that is the question. Any thing which you may suggest to me I will try and profit by. What shall be done? that is the question. How shall we act? that is the question too.

When you come fully to understand our position - Lincoln's position, and remember Greeley's whole conduct - Speech and Editorials, and remember the Tribune's influence - its wide spread and almost universal circulation. You will look over our heads, and somewhat scorn the real traitor. I hope you now understand our condition - feelings - position &c -

We are gaining every day in Illinois - all looks bright -

I said confidential - still say so; yet you may give your friends a hint - not telling your informant, or showing the letters.

Your Friend
W. H. Herndon.

Springfield, Illinois, October 3d. 1848.

Dear Sir.

I arrived home this minute off a political "tramp", and found your's of 22d ult.

I am happy to give you new items or old ones. if they will only give proofs to your instincts. What I state to you, you may "swear by"; for I only state what I know to be true; and what I have hitherto stated. I know as well as that you were born. I know what I am talking about and to whom, and so keep within bounds.

I have lately been in and through Sangamon Co. Logan - Menard - Christian - Macoupin - Macon - an area as large as the State of Massachusetts, and all things are afire. look right and feel strong and vital. Excitement - agitation is most intense here. Man's whole being seems to be aroused. Peter the hermit - is abroad. Shaking our State. I am of your opinion that we have Senator Douglas "on the hip", and if we are not fooled he is "a dead cock in the pit". Here is one of the best signs that I have felt yet; namely - the honest countrymen are, as we say here, "dum foundered" i.e. they do not know what to do. doubt Douglas his opinions. his veracity - his whole being, and throughout all its phases. They say nothing - keep still, for Democracy is a kind of political Popery, hunting out heresy and burning the heretic. I predict that the Democracy will be badly fooled in their men - their measures, and

Herndon.

their tickets out. The farmers "Keep shy": they do not want to be hunted up and damned, and so they simply say they are Democratic. I know however that they are not, for I am out all the time at the school houses and village churches where good can be done and where the "big bugs" do not go. There are no great crowds at these cross-road places, yet they are really the places where good can be done. Those men who will go 20 miles through heat and dust to hear Speeches are Democratic or Republican; but those who will not go 20 rods to hear Speeches are neither one way or the other; but if you go to them, and erect a "Stump"; or go do business right at their door, then you get them to hear, and convert many. This is my experience. I think it is the experience of others.

Our people - the Republicans - old line Whigs and Fillmore men are united closely and are wise and wide awake, doing man and God a good service. This class of men Republican in all things except name is rapidly increasing, developing into zealous, fiery, logical Republicans. This is so North and South, East and West throughout the whole of this State. Our general ticket will be elected by thirty or forty thousand.

The Buchanan men

party - are rapidly increasing. I love to see this. if I could only throw away - throw out of view. the motive that actuated them - office. They are running Candidates in every Congressional District - in every State Senatorial district, and in every place where any body is a candidate for any thing; they thus divide and split "wide open" the Despotism, that is threatening to grind us to powder.

The Douglas men party, on the other hand are daily decreasing - caving in and giving up the ghost. I call this faction, led on by Douglas, a mob: it is composed mostly of Irish - whisky sellers. the ignorant and debased of the whole world. This party is sinking - bound to sink, and go under, and thank the People for it - thank God for it.

I did Lincoln and Greeley a little wrong, probably by the generality of my expressions. I say Lincoln's apparent back down. and Greeley's accidental advocacy of the pro-Slavery side.

Good Friend
W. H. Herndon.

Herndon.

Springfield, Illinois. October 4th 1838.

Dear Sir.

In my hurry whilst writing my last letter, I forgot to meet, by answer, the whole of your letter.

First: I wrote to you about a certain United States Senator, and you say that hint- that man, chagins you. I am sorry for this, but I cannot help it. However, I promise you, that ere long you shall have the man's name, if it is not too great a breach of confidence. I will think about it- ask my good friends too what to do. I hope you do not doubt my word, as I have always been true to you, and all others on all occasions. I state nothing but facts that I know.

Secondly, you say you are, first for Seward, secondly for Chase and thirdly for Senator Trumbull, if &c; and in answer to this, I say "We of the west have no choice- we do not care who it is, so that he is a good Republican and where Republicanism is bottomed and buttressed on ideas- on the great underlying principles of Justice- Right and the inalienable rights of man: we do not want any Republican who is a Republican from simple policy, working upward through ambition".

This is our Speech to you - to all the world. East as well as west - North as well as South; and he who expects to get our votes must platform himself upon the Declaration of Independence - Justice - the inalienable rights and duties of man, guided and governed by the Spirit of '76. If he does not stand here, at least in feeling, need not look westward, unless the East and middle Union tie our hands, and stop the beating of our hearts. We intend to climb as high as we can along the lines of absolute justice. This is our feeling now. What it may be in 1864 I cannot tell, but only hope.

Greeley is acting a great dog, is he not? Just look at and over his great paper with its world wide circulation, and does he state who he is for - what he wants - what Illinois is doing - what freedom is struggling for and how, with intensity &c.? Nothing of the kind. He does not seem to know that there is such a man as Lincoln - such a struggle as 1858 & 9. and such a State as Illinois. He does not keep his own people "posted". Who would know by Greeley's paper that a great race for weal or woe was being fought all over the vast world wide prairies of Illinois? Who would? It is strange indeed!

Herndon

We are gaining in Numbers - strength - power and enthusiasm every hour - day and week. Douglas is losing just in the same proportion ratio or what not. I saw Mr Richard Gates - a former congressman from this District, a day or so since, and he says that Douglas looks gloomy - mournful - in despair - Gates having rode with Douglas in the cars from Danville to the centre of the State, and I state to you the same thing, and in addition thereto I say that Douglas is bloated as bad as I ever saw him he drinks very hard indeed; his look is awful to me, when I compare him as he now looks with what he was in February 1858.

What you cannot understand or read here in, guess at.

Your Friend.
W. H. Herndon.

Springfield, Illinois, October 26th 1858.

Dear Sir.

I really regret to hear that you are sick and confined to your bed. I hope that you are not very ill - so ill that you cannot soon talk and "yarn" and laugh with your bosom friends. Come, keep in good spirits and be merry. If you were in Illinois and could

only see how the great human family were
prograping justicewards - Socialwards and
religionwards, you would thank God and
take courage.

The Republicans are full of hope
and are wild with enthusiasm, all educated
and drilled to duty in this great canvass that
is now apace approaching. Our forces are eag
well drilled and compact and are only
waiting the word - Go! Do not understand
me to say that all is surely and absolutely
but understand this - it all looks well, feels
in our bones. If we are defeated it will be on
account. There are thousands of wild roving,
lobbing bloated pock-marked Irish who are
thrown in to us by the Douglas Democracy
the purpose of outvoting us - robbing us of our
"popular will". If we are defeated, there is only one
thing that will do it and that is wrong
fraud - bribery and corruption. We know our
men in each precinct - town - county - dis
and section and we have the majority.

Enclosed I send you a
slip cut from the Chicago Press and Tribune
showing you that there is danger from the
causes aforesaid.

Your Friend
W. H. Herndon.

[illegible]

[illegible] Shall [illegible] est right by the [illegible] another State? Prompt [illegible] action alone will meet the case, and we call upon the lovers of peace and good order, and all who desire to see the purity of the ballot box maintained, regardless of the success of this or that party, to unite and hand themselves together to prevent the outrageous frauds now in contemplation:

St. Louis, Oct. 21, 1858.

Illinois Journal:—So bold has the game become, that men are publicly hiring Irishmen in our streets to go into Illinois to vote for Douglas. The agents refuse to tell where the men are to be employed; but they are fully understood by the Irishmen. I heard one of them say, "Faith, and he does not want us to work, he wants us for carpet-bag men!" This was said in a large crowd of Irish, who are at this moment taking tickets at the corner of Market street and the Levee. They go to Cairo, thence up the Central road.

John Henry & Co. have handbills up for one hundred and fifty hands, which is the number supposed to be necessary to carry Morgan county.

If the Republicans do not take the proper steps to correct this fraud on the ballot box, they richly deserve defeat. They should organize Vigilance Committees at every voting place in the State that is within five miles of the railroads. They may rest assured that extensive preparations are making to carry several of the doubtful counties for Douglas by taking *Irish voters from this city and Chicago.*

Move quickly or all will be lost. You know the unscrupulousness of your enemies.

Anti-Fraud.

[illegible] numbers of [illegible] being solicited to [illegible] of prompt pay when the voting [illegible] and indeed so confident are the managers now in this city that they openly assert that they will carry all the centre districts no matter how the American vote may be cast, as they can count upon enough to overcome it. While their handbills are posted on the street corners and their emissaries busy at work, it is matter of no astonishment [illegible] should spur them up to do the thing thoroughly. We accordingly find the Missouri *Republican* inciting the colonization with all the zeal it urged on the first invasion of Kansas. Speaking of the implication of the Central Railroad in this business of transporting men to seize the polls, and determine the result in the counties along its line, the *Republican* says:

"If the Illinois Central Railroad, nearly all of the managers of which are Northern men, want hands to work on their road, we presume they will employ them, whether the Black Republicans like it or not."

And again,

"If they can give employment to the thousands of persons now idle, many of whom are in absolute want, we hope they will do it *without stopping to ask whether their confidence will be so far abused as that a vote or two may be given by them, either for Douglas or Lincoln.*"

It required less encouragement to precipitate three thousand men across the Missouri border, and no doubt the *Republican* is equally as sanguine of results now. That we are not alone in possession of the evidences of these Douglas frauds, may be seen from the following extract. It is from the Springfield *Journal*:

On Tuesday morning last, the down train on the Chicago, Alton & St. Louis Road carried about one hundred Irishmen as far as Bloomington, where they were dumped by the road side. They soon scattered out among the Douglas men in communication with the Secret Society for the Promotion of Illegal voting in this city; and the probabilities are they will not emerge from their holes again until election day. These men were provided with second-class tickets, though occupying first-class cars; they appeared to be under the guidance of a file-leader, who was loud in his praises of Stephen A. Douglas.

Also a letter from a prominent merchant of St. Louis, whose character is a by-word of honor and integrity with those who know him, and who writes thus:

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Also a letter from a gentleman who stands [illegible]

Herndon.

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The Republicans are full of hope and are wild with enthusiasm, all educated and drilled to duty in this great canvass that is now apace approaching. Our forces are eag well drilled and compact and are only waiting the word - Go! Do not understand me to say that all is surely and absolutely but understand this - it all looks well, feels ri in our bones. If we are defeated it will be on t account. There are thousands of wild, roving, robbing bloated pock-marked Irish who are thrown in to us by the Douglas Democracy the purpose of outvoting us - robbing us of our "popular will". If we are defeated, there is only on thing that will do it and that is wrong fraud - bribery and corruption. We know our men in each precinct - town - county - dis and section and we have the majority.

Enclosed I send you a slip cut from the Chicago Press and Tribun showing you that there is danger from the causes aforesaid.

Your Friend
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St. Louis, Oct. 22, 1858.

Editors Journal:—So bold has the game become, that men are publicly hiring Irishmen in our streets to go into Illinois to vote for Douglas. The agents refuse to tell where the men are to be employed; but they are fully understood by the Irishmen. I heard one of them say, "Bedad, and he does not want us to work, he wants us for carpet-bag men!" This was said in a large crowd of Irish, who are at this moment taking tickets at the corner of Market street and the Levee. They go to Cairo, thence up the Central road.

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Herndon.

Springfield Illinois October 30th
1854

Friend.

To-day is Saturday and in a little while Mr Lincoln opens on our Square close to the State House, on the great vital, and dominant issues of the day and age. We feel as usual, full of enthusiasm and of hope, and there is nothing which can well defeat us but the elements, and the wandering roving robbing Irish, who have flooded over the State. This charge is no humbug cry, it is a real and solid and terrible reality, looking us right in the face, with its thumb on its nose. We, throughout the State, have this question before us. "What shall we do? Shall we tamely submit to the Irish, or shall we rise and cut their throats?" If blood is shed in Illinois to maintain the purity of the ballot-box, and the rights of the popular will, do not be at all surprised. We are bonded and fined to fury. My feelings are ideas to some extent and therefore cool. I try and persuade both parties to keep calm and cool if possible. But let me say to you — that there is great and imminent danger of a general and terrible row and if it commences woe be it to the Irish — Poor fellows!

Herndon.

You know my position now. and let me state to you that I am amidst the Knowing ones. Clubs - County committees - State committees, leaders - Sagacious men, &c. &c. and from all places and persons comes up this intelligence - "All is well". I, myself, fear and am deluded because I cannot feel as I should - as others do. My intuition - finite forecast, if you will - my bones, tell me that all is not safe; yet I hope for the best -

How are you - are you up and walking about? Just reading and writing, if you can and go off on a Spree.

Your Friend.
W. H. Herndon.

Springfield, Illinois, November 8th 1858.

Dear Sir

We are beaten in Illinois, as you are aware; but you may want to know the causes of our defeat.

Firstly, then, I have more than once said our State presents three distinct phases of human development; - firstly the extreme North - Secondly the Middle, and thirdly the extreme South. The first is intelligence the Second timidity and the third is

ignorance on the Special issue, but goodness and bravely. If a man spoke to suit the North- for freedom - justice, this killed him in the Centre, and in the South. So in the Centre, it killed North and South - So in the South it killed surely North. Lincoln tried to stand high and elevated, so he fell. deep. Secondly. Greeley never gave us one single Solitary manly lift. On the contrary his Silence was his opposition. This our people felt. We never got a smile or a word of encouragement outside of Illinois from any greater - during all this great canvass. The East was for Douglas by Silence. This Silence was terrible to us. Seward was against us too.

Thirdly - Crittenden wrote letters to Illinois urging the Americans and old line whigs to go Douglas, and so they went "helter-skelter" Thousands of whigs dropped us just on the eve of the election, through the influence of Crittenden.

Fourthly - All the pro-Slavery men, North as well as South, went to a man for Douglas. They threw into this money and men, and Speakers. These forces and powers we were wholly denied by our Northern and Eastern friends. This conceal us somewhat but let it go. Do you know what Byron says

Vernon.

about revenge - : he goes off in this wise.

"There never was yet human power &c."

I shall make no hasty pledges, notwithstanding I am bent on acting practically, so that I can help to choke down Slavery, and so I shall say nothing - not a word.

Fifthly, thousands of roving-robbing-bloated, pock-marked Catholic Irish were imported upon us from Philadelphia-New York. St Louis, and other cities. I myself know of such, by their own confession. Some have been arrested, and are now in jail, waiting trial.

I want to distinctly say to you that no one of all these causes beat us - defeated Lincoln but I do want to say that it was the combination with the power and influences of each, that "cleaned us out."

Do you not now see that there is a conspiracy afloat, which threatens the disorganization of the Republican party? Do you not now see that Seward, and Greeley, and Crittenden & Co. are at this moment in a joint common understanding to lower our platform?

In conclusion, let me say that as Douglas has got all clapes to "boil his pot" with antagonistic material and forces; that

there is bound, by the laws of Nature, to be an opposition - namely, Somebody will be fooled - Look out! Greeley is a natural fool, I think, in this matter - his hearty Douglas position. So with Seward - Crittenden - with the South and North. Douglas cannot hold all these places and men. Mark that!

I am busy at Court and have no time to correct - no time to cut down or amplify - hope you can understand.

Your Friend
W. H. Herndon.

Springfield, Illinois. November 28th 1856.

Dear Sir.

* * * * *

You state that you and I disagree about Senator Seward. Not at all: it was my rapid loose writing that misled you. I suppose, from what you say that I put my verb in the present, when it should have been in the past. What I intended to say was this. There was one a conspiracy to let down - lower, the Republican platform, and in that conspiracy were Douglas - Seward - Wilson - Greeley, and the whole North in Congress. This I know. The manner - one of them - was to uphold Douglas and throw

Herndon.

away Illinois; and this was done upon the condition - consideration - that Douglas would hugely war - wrestle against Lecompton. Let me see if I cannot convince you of my meaning - outside of my word to you - : I once told you that this conspiracy was on the tapis, but was to a certain extent broken up - frustrated, because Judge Trumbull would not agree to sacrifice Lincoln. Again: did I not say to you that the whole North would at some future day do justice to our Illinois - instinctive uprising - Spontaneous rebellion against this attempted sale of Illinois? If I said this, and I so write, then it is plain that I did not willingly say what would have been self contradictory. The wild - perfect - Stampede in Illinois put things in a complex condition and so left - the original understanding having been busted up, all men to act in "talk" or according to discretion. To keep good faith with Douglas: Greeley So far as he could. kept silence, and had we not rebelled at this wholesale traffic of principle - prudence, and justice it would have been just as I told you. Illinois Republicanism acted wisely, and I am one who get it so to act, i. e. I helped it - to form an opinion and act energetically upon it. I will take that - much of the dread Responsibility and bide my time for Some[illegible] judgement.

This conspiracy is not wholly abandoned yet. I rather guess that some leaders - such as Crittenden & Co. want it not to take place

I landed at home from Washington and East generally, and told our people what I told you. What I told you by word and by writing I know to be true. I have no private opinion on politics that I do not tell you. The feeling still to support Douglas is not yet wholly wiped out. This whole original understanding being shattered, and driven into spray, and whipt into mist left Seward free, and thence he burst out at Rochester and at Rome. By the by, those Speeches are brave, bold, manly, imporably earth-true Speeches, but is it - was it prudent, wise, Sagacious in Seward to utter them? What say you? What think you? The people are still tender-footed as a whole. Some localities, as Boston, may be rough-iron shod, but behind Indiana - Illinois &c! Wisdom looks out generally - Sweeping pats as well as wholes. Reformers to effect anything politically must have more than a bare majority. Hell & retrogrades sit upon customs - habits - disgusts, and bids you lay siege. Reformers must get to low-crawl along in the mud till a working majority Sticks - not so with any despotism - enough has already stuck to it by habit - custom

Herndon.

and education. Was it now wise in Seward to go out so wide-sweeping? I doubt it. His Speeches are at once elogent - logical - philosophic - so much so, as you well say - that no New England paper dare publish, except those of rank radical, Anti-Slavery flags. The question is - was it prudent in Seward to go out upon the deep broad eternal depths of philosophy, to make these Speeches on the Special occasions? That is the question.

I can see which way human ideas tend and march; and I know that mankind will follow the ideal, but what I see all men do not, now. So, was it prudent?

You say to me that Douglas will not be the Democratic nominee in 1860; that he will not receive the Charleston Convention nomination; and that if he do he will be defeated. I think I agree with you, yet I shiver: there is a kind of victory fatality - a manifest Destiny hanging "round loose" about Douglas, and this idea makes me dread the future, as the child does the dark. I received a letter from Horace Greeley, dated Nov. 14th 1858 in which he says -

"First, Mr Douglas would be the strongest candidate that the Democracy could present for Plesident: but - Secondly, they will not present him. The old Leaders

will not endure it; and thirdly, as he is doomed to be defeated at Charleston it is good policy to flatter him &c."

So here, you – Greeley and myself agree in the main. Let me ask you one question: Douglas' uprise and consequent danger to Republicanism. If Greeley saw all this before-hand, why did he not "jump in" and defeat the uprising of this monster in politics. Can he answer it – Oh!

Douglas is now upon the Nation, and how shall it shake him off? He is a man of no deep-hearted feelings – no wide universal uprising outspreading ideas – no philosophy which points the race to the path on which it must move, and along which it ought to move for ages – no such thing in that little man's brain. He sits down in a mud-corner, and says to the rushing world as it sweeps by, searching for its grand ideal – "Here and Now" – attend to the here and the now – no hereafter – no higher Law – no God that never slumbers, watching Justice.

Well – Well, it is too bad, but it is not my philosophy to lie down and grunt or whine. I will fight him again and again – again and again.

You refer me to Hammond's

Herndon.

Speech. I have read it, and now do you remember what I told you about him. I said he was a good man by nature - was doing violence to his own innate justice when he was making his Speech about Slavery - mud - hills &c.

You draw an inference from his Speech, that is not, I think, warranted. Your inference is, this a change of Southron sentiment. The fact, I think is here - Hammond was made to think in the Senate, and that led him back to his old child justice: it is an individual change that will not amount to much. I see the Southern papers are down on him - Look out at the Southern papers. We will soon see which way things drift.

Your Friend
W. H. Herndon.

Springfield, Illinois, Nov. 24th 1858.

Dear Sir.

* * * * * *

I was one of those spontaneous, instinctive, and it may be far-seeing Suckers, that made Illinois mutinous against the Douglas-Greeley sale of Illinois, and Republicanism therein. Our course or Greeley's I want you to approve. If our course was wrong, say so - If Greeley's, say so. Now look at the facts, and the men.

Fistly - Take Haskins, and small men of such calibre, who can lend up no huge whirlwind of political power - or down; and the Republicans of New York - New England &c. can afford to stop and palaver with them. get them to stick, and lift them up on the broad shoulders of vigorous Republicanism; walking off with them to the camp of real Democracy. He and such live no longer - are wholly absorbed. Here Greeley did right - no danger in this: it was child's play - but.

Secondly - Take Douglas he is a huge mind - giant, who, if you stoop to him, fastens his clutches around your neck and shoulders and - Keeps you there, down in that uneasy mind - position, rallying you off into the sham Democratic ranks. There is no absorption and uplifting here - for otherwise: - the uplifting and absorption turns out to the reverse of foolish expectancy, human or otherwise.

In the first place the Republicans can disorganize, and at the call of drum and fife and other political screeching they may get soon together again; but this is not so in Douglas' case. Now what is wise in New York over Haskins is not wise in Illinois over Douglas - for otherwise. Then for Greeley to set down a law for us was foolish - absurd - most

Herndon.

unphilosophic - idiotic in short.

When I was on at Washington and in the East generally I found out from Judge Trumbull and others in Washington that there was a disposition to sell out Illinois, and to lower the Republican platform in general, so as to suit Douglas' low standard of right and wrong. I went to New York and Greeley by immense does startled me - went to your Boston and found out the same or about the same thing. I knew Douglas - had for years - so did our people - all knew him to the heart's core - centre. So we met - talked over the matter at Chicago, and the universal uprising sentiment was this - "can't trust Douglas - if we run him it must be on distinct Democratic Cincinnati platforms - underpropped by a fond Substratum - emerging Despotism, and fully developed pro-Slaveryism". So every man sent up his individual, "No," and the universal went along with it and said. "Never".

What then shall be done? Shall we run Douglas, and become, if not in intent a pro-Slavery party, in fact false sham Democrats, every one of us. If we run him we must disorganize and become pieces for slavery in 1860; for once disorganized and following Douglas one year, we are swamped - deep - fatally gone out

of this world's sight into fiery pandemonium of pro-Slavery worship.

So here we are, and now what shall be done? Shall we run Lincoln-love Liberty, and keep organized for the great deep momentous turning battle of 1860.

Individual shouts sent up their everlasting deep "Yes", and so the universal went wedded to the individual - a glorious God's marriage. Well - Lincoln was our man, and Liberty and God our Motto, he being the best little representative of them we could get. We were whipped, as you are sadly aware, doubtless. What looms up great and grand in the distance - away in the future - ?

Come, go back with me one moment. If we went for Douglas we had to give up Republicanism and wholly disorganize. We are on the ground - see this everywhere. Our good neighbors say so - our heads say so, and our good souls say "Yea". Can distant - Greeley say - Gials - pshaw! Are the Eastern politicians all fools? They seem to be so. I am a young undisciplined, uneducated wild man, but I can see to the gizzard of this question. We are all disorganized in Illinois, and shouting for Douglas, and the blast of the bugle, bursting on the air, blown by freedom, calling to her brave

rolls up on us in 1860 and - where are we? Why - disorganized - hooting and shouting for Douglas, and for Slavery. Pretty, pip this, and Greeley says - "all right." My dog Sagacity - my mind instinct says - fool! Stoop for Hasking - Davis & Co, Greeley may; but for Douglas let him and the world beware! What can the North do in 1860 with Indiana - Illinois - New Jersey & Co. disorganized Why - get wiped out. Greeley, horn-eyed, says "all right - just the thing - quite practical - easy to be done" and to which I say - Easy, if you want to elect a Southern pro-Slavery man for 1860."

Come, go back with me once more, and now what do you see in Illinois? Why - A well drilled "Fritz" organized - educated - Liberty - loving - God - fearing Republican party broad and wide awake, ready for the fight shouting for man - Liberty - Justice - God, and their complex duties and relations, now and forever! Hurrah! and the welkin rings. Distant Greeley, glooming over States way into Illinois, shaking his sour Fourier head at us, may be seen, crying "All wrong." Well, it may be so; but I cannot see it, and I make a direct appeal to you. Is Illinois right or is she wrong? That is the puzzling and disturbing question. If I cannot get you yes I will still bide my time for fully educated judgment: i.e. - educated in and about the special facts and localities, as well as general.

I say, I came home after discovering the Greeley-Douglas-Seward-Crittenden tendencies, and told our people of them: they had faith in what I said and more in their own souls, and so we went to war most mutinous. We are, for Senator, whipped, but not for State offices, and so thank God we are this day a sober stanch incorrigible fact-free in Republicanism. Here we are: feel our nerves, and muscles and bones: they are all in place, a vital healthy living organism, ready to function at God's order — "Up and at them".

I send you herein two scraps cut from the papers. One from the Boston Traveller and one from the Illinois Prep and Tribune.

Read them and you will fully understand

Your Friend

W. H. Herndon.

Herndon.

[illegible] Republican [illegible]

[illegible] Douglas should be [illegible] they denounced the language and the course of other Republicans, characterizing them as improper interference in the local affairs of Illinois; as if the election of a sectional Senator could be a purely local affair, and as if the nation could have no interest in a course of policy that was sure largely to affect the decision of the next Presidential campaign. The opposition in other States, having done its duty to the best of its ability, then gave way, and the Illinois Republicans were allowed to settle the matter after their own fashion, without being troubled with the suggestions of people in New York and New England. And a very fine settlement they have made of it! They have been beaten on their own field, fighting the battle after their own fashion, and so have contributed to the Democratic corps the only victory it has won in the North in 1858. Such is the consequence of their plan having been adopted. We do not think any worse could have happened if those "impertinent" outsiders had been listened to, and their advice heeded. What renders the result all the more shameful is the fact that Republicans voted with the handful of Democrats who adhered to the Administration, and were, we are informed, instrumental in having Douglas men removed from national offices, thus becoming the tools of that very "slave power" which they are so fond of denouncing. Merely to gratify personal and political hatred, it was determined to break Mr. Douglas down, though in so doing the "slave power" was to be built up anew. What the full effect of this most unwise action is to be, who shall say? But this can be said, that the Illinois Republicans compelled their party in the nation to throw aside the certainty of success in 1860, and to return to the wilderness, where they may wander for forty years to come if not forever. Parties, like individuals, have their golden moments; but if they neglect to improve them, those moments rarely return. All that now can be said is, that the future, which it was in the power of the Republicans to order, must be controlled by the Democracy. The latter may behave as foolishly as some of their enemies have behaved; but this it would not be safe to count upon, for their course is invariably shrewd when Presidential elections are to be decided. They are then wise as serpents, and denunciative as eagles.

[illegible] every [illegible] the result of [illegible] Convention. [illegible] we [illegible] without our [illegible] the supposed that in a contest into which we were impelled by a sense of duty, which no difference in respect of success by other means could destroy, we were entitled to the sympathy and aid of those of our faith [illegible] boundaries of the State. In that we were grossly and treacherously deceived. We fought not only Douglas at home, where his power and popularity in his party are next to omnipotent, but the Republican party in every State except Illinois, and the American party in Pennsylvania and New York, and in the entire South! Turn whichsoever way we would, we met an enemy. We had a right to hope for other things—a right to expect that in some of the millions of eager eyes that looked on the fray we might see sympathy expressed. We were contending hand to hand with the most powerful, the most unscrupulous, the most facile and audacious enemy that free principles ever had in the North. It was known that his triumph involved consequences that would reach far beyond the present; that his defeat would be the overthrow, if not the final extinction, of the false and fallen Democracy in all the free States. But with a madness that is incomprehensible—with a degree of fatuity that never was equalled—with a violation of the rules of political warfare that is without parallel, every effort of our friends abroad was for our enemies at home! They succeeded in snatching from us half the honor that otherwise we should have won. But, thank Heaven! the main purposes of the fight have been accomplished. We have demonstrated the power of Republicanism as an element in all future contests, and its incorruptibility, at least in Illinois, when tempted by prospects of immediate success. We have dissolved the coalition one half formed, by which our platform was to be let down, by which our principles would have lost their vitality, and by which success in 1860 would have been ten-fold more disastrous than defeat. So far, well. And now for the future: We believe it is the intention of Illinois Republicans to go right on in the course that they have marked out—to ask no aid that conviction of the justice and necessity of their principles will not bring—to make no alliances, offensive or defensive, with any faction, party, or clique—to ask no favor—to give no quarter—to fight the great battle for the ascendancy of free principles as zealous, earnest men should—to be content with defeat as long as it must be endured—to use success wisely when we win it. If we are to have the co-operation of the party elsewhere, well; if not, Illinois is sovereign, and her sons can walk alone!

Springfield Illinois. January 15. 1839.

Friend Parker.

* * * * * *

I am reading your Lecture on Mr Adams a Synopsis of it rather; and it rings like you; at once finely analytic - profoundly Synthetic, truly discriminating and philosophic: it is honest - candid, and places Mr Adams about where my instincts - not my reading placed him. On the whole it does Mr Adams no more than justice. I see more pleasure in reading this than the lawyers do in their heated forensic disputes. I hate the Law: it cramps me: it seems to me priestly barbaric. I am here above the suspicion of not knowing somewhat of the History - Spirit and Principles of the Law, and my flings do not come from disappointment. I say, I hate the Law.

* * * * * *

W. H. Herndon.

Springfield, Illinois, January 25. 1839

Dear Sir.

* * * * *

God grant you a happy journey and a speedy recovery, So that you may come back to your native land invigorated, doing the people

Herndon

good who now curse you! May Heaven's great Eye and loving heart watch over you and pulse into you some of His vitality! Good-bye till you return.

Your Friend
W. H. Herndon

Springfield, Illinois, December 15th 1859.

Dear Sir.

* * * * *

Now I follow you to Rome, where Brutus' dagger gleamed bright against the Despotism of Caesar. Though this is true I am still amidst such a glaring - heavy - hot and angry despotism that the blood runs cold, and almost crystallized such a heavy and haughty despotism the world never saw. We are verging towards a civil war, or a peaceable Dismion. I do not want to see or feel either, but my voice and arm are too weak to stay the tide. What God's providence announces in the logic of the instant sweeping events, I cannot control, and have no arrogating desire so to do. "Let God's will be done", and I am content.

Since your departure from America much has been done, that makes the heart hope and much that frees the soul to despair. All through the South the "fanatics" there are

diving out all good men. Let this too go on uncontrolled: it will force on the indolent-indifferent there, as well as North, the necessary laws of human thought - the Ideas of human Rights; it will drive good men Northward: it is Nature's providence wider too than our little philosophies and logics; and will rouse and bring on the great grand world-soul deep issue, high as "heaven", and as deep as "hell"

John Brown's raid of Virginia has somewhat awoke us to the "irrepressible conflict" - has roused us to the greatness - grandeur of America's coming events: his death has sent a thrill of horror through the American world. His deeds are sweeping from the great tall heads to the mot-mass of our people. You have no idea of the influence of John Brown's acts and deeds.

We do not approve the deeds, though we deeply sympathize with the man and his motives. Poor old John Brown: he was good and great and is immortal - will live amidst the world's gods and he loves through all the infinite ages. "I still live" of John Brown will ever sing along heaven's blue domes of the future. As the Masons say - "So mote it be"

Wendell Phillips made a most glorious speech in Beecher's Church a few weeks before the execution of Brown: it was a polished,

Herndon.

chaste and an elogent production: it was a living thing breathing out fire and defiance. Corwin says it was the finest thing he ever heard: he was on the Stand at the time Phillips Spoke. Phillips has made one or two other good Speeches on John Brown and his times. Phillips Speeches, I understand, are for the present rolled up - their publication, for the present, is delayed on account of the insolvency of the Boston firm who were to publish the Speeches. I am sorry for this, for I wanted to read and Study them. To show you the interest felt in John Brown no less than three biographies are proposed to be issued. Even the laws of Political Economy - the generalizations of "the dismal Science" teach us that productions create a demand, and demand acts back on productions - Do note, that be too.

Whilst I am Speaking of Books, let me say that the world is "a-Sleep" on the publication of good new Books. Europe is no better in this particular than America. I understand that Emmerson is Soon to publish a new work, called "the Conduct of Life". I hope it will be good. Knows.

Now for Squabbling politics. There are Several good men Spoken of for President. Among them are Seward. Chase. Banks - Lincoln - Bates - Bell & Co. I have a letter now in my hand from Philosopher Greeley: he says he is for Bates

of Missouri and Read of Pennsylvania. Greeley is getting quite conservative: he is a timid man: he is willing to agitate for an idea during its abstract State, but he shudders when it is about to concrete itself in living events amidst all human conditions, Social, Religious, or political. He will not do for a great leader of America's present events: he will do to lead in small and unimportant events, political or Social; but not where absolute principles will squeeze out blood, if necessary, to get them applied: he is fine for Theoretic principles - not heaven - high ones applied. Greeley is, however, an honest man, and I still somewhat like him.

The Republicans in Congress are grinding off the flesh from their knee caps, attempting or trying to convince the Southern men that we are cowards: they will succeed, I will assure you. We are cowards - i - e. our Representatives are. But here, friend. If a man makes me bite the dust to get what is my due, or to get a favor, when I do arise from my condition of humiliation I rise with clenched fists, hitting my tyrant with a quick heavy back-slap. This is the Law of our nature, and look out, distant in the future, for this Law in its application. So mote that be too. I am ashamed that I am a Republican. I am like the little girl who accidentally shot off mind in

company. She said "I wish I was in "hell" a little while". I feel like I wanted to scorch off the disgrace of our kneeling whining cowardice. Probably the time will come when the Northern man can be free and independent. asking no man - no section a forgiveness for doing justice - executing all human duties. The People must be educated under them. The South is now catechizing the North: it stands and shiveringly answers to this question - "What is the true end of man"? "The chief end of man is to support the nigger institution, and to apologize to despots for the ideas thought only in the brain". I might turn out to be a coward too, if I were in Congress; but I think, if I were asked that question, I should say "Resistance to nigger driven individual tyrants is fealty to man and obedience to God". The Senators are all on their knees so are the Representatives. Let them shrive themselves there, and mankind will revenge the humiliation in the future. This is God's constant mode of operation. The race will pull the trigger which the individual refused to touch. God will cry to the Race - "Fire" and it will fire. We will then apologize upward.

Senator Douglas is backing down to the commands of the Slave driver, and Kellog of Illinois is after Greeley and Douglas for their conspiracy to beat Lincoln. Let the

facts come! Human History is a great magnet held up and swung over facts, drawing them up, sticking them logically amidst the worlds great and small events. Garrison, I fear, is not doing much, at least do not hear much from him. He is, however, always firm, and as you once said to me substantially - "I have no more fear of Garrison than the shrinkage of the world's granite ribs, holding us up". The North is gradually being educated in Ideas and in Arms. Instinct and Nature drive them to prepare. I want peace; but if God says otherwise - So mote that be too.

Are you writing your great work in Rome? How are you, and how does old Rome look? I am well. I hope you are.

Your friend
W. H. Herndon.

Lee.

Boston. 28th October. [1686.]

Dear Sir.

I send you a large portion of my work. I shall publish it in two parts some months hence with a copious index. So that those who may not take an interest in all the topics discussed may select such as may be likely to interest them. It was for want of this index that I abstained from sending it unfinished to you.

The object in view is to place on record many facts relating to commerce, banking war &c. scattered through thousands of pamphlets which might otherwise have been lost, or never have reached the public eye. I am aware the work will not have many readers, but it will serve I hope, as a reference for other writers who may be in search of facts not easily to be found without much research in any other way.

If you will turn over the leaves your eye may be attracted with Statements in respect to Art and effects of war &c. which may be useful to you in your writings &c. When I go to press you shall have a complete copy.

Yours &c.

H. Lee.

October 22nd/847.

My dear Sir.

I deferred answering your note of the 17th instant as I was on the point of moving to the city and supposed from the tenor of it, that the books were not immediately wanted. The work I have so long had in press has remained in statu quo, for some months. I am now, however really through the Index which will from its copiousness assist those who may be inclined to look into the book to turn to such topics as may be likely to interest them and avoid others which are not so. There will then only remain an introduction to be written and I hope to have it out in two months when you shall have a copy; in the meantime you can either put past as may be useful to you from the volumes I now send which contains all which is printed save 60 pages and the rest will not be continued beyond the 720 pages unless it should be more generally popular than I have reason to expect.

I have not discussed the question of Slavery that not having been one of the purposes had in view in composing the work. There are however many facts in regard to the comparative productiveness of Slave and free States which will

See

aid you in treating the subject in its economical bearings - the only ones I fear which can have much influence on the minds and conduct of the people of the Slave States. If it can be shown that poverty always has been an accompaniment of Slavery and one of its consequences - the only inducement to hold Slaves, is removed. Again, Now and here that absence of the means of educating the mass of Society - or indeed any considerable portion of it - has also been a concomitant of Slavery. This has been done by compairing the few children at primary schools in Slave with those in free States. For instance Virginia - oldest State in Union, and one of the most civilized of the Slave States with 1,239,797 has 35,331 at primary schools while Massachusetts with 737,699 (census of 1840) has 158,331 - Ohio a State only 40 years old against Virginia nearly 2½ centuries - had in 1840, 218,609 primary School pupils - with a population of 1,519,467 - Michigan, in 1840. with a population of 212,267 - admitted to the Union so late as 1836 had 29,701 - Scholars at primary schools - while North and South Carolina, with an aggregate population of 1,347,817 had only 27,427 primary pupils. They were settled in 1630 and 1669. At the census of 1830, these three States the oldest - and most highly civilized of the Slave States will be found not to have increased in population or wealth -

nor to have improved in the means of educat-
ing the people while Ohio and Michigan
will have increased 50 or 60 per cent in population
and greatly in wealth. In fact Virginia, which
for many years after the Constitution was formed
kept the lead in population will, in 1830 be
behind New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio in
numbers - including her Slaves - but if her Slaves
be omitted and they are not population in
the proper sense of the term - as Slaves - then
Massachusetts - Illinois and Indiana will
transcend her in her population.

Now such facts, though they have no bearing
on the moral view of Slavery - I mean that
were the reverse the case Slavery could not be justified
yet as the abolition of Slaves is not likely to be
accomplished in our generation except from its
unprofitableness - it is important that such facts
should be made known - as likely to influence
ten times as many minds as moral considera-
tions. The Slaveholder himself who looks to
Slaves as means of support - may be inclined
to retain them on that and other grounds -
may not be converted by such facts - yet there are
in the Slave States, those who do not own
Slaves, and never can own them, from their
poverty and for other reasons, who will be affected
by Statements which prove that all who live in

H. Lee.

Slave Territory and who do not profit by Slavery are doomed to poverty and ignorance. Now it is to be kept in mind, that out of upward 7.000.000 of persons in Slave States in 1840 - there are not exceeding 120.000 holders of Slaves - which may with members of families amount to 600 or 700.000 persons. All others have a strong interest in every sense of the word - in the abolition of Slavery - and were they as enlightened as the laboring Classes in New England - New York and Ohio - they would compel their States to fix on a period when Slavery should cease to exist - at least in such States as do not produce cotton or sugar, the only commodities on which Slave labor can be profitably employed. Now these facts - which ought to be in hands of ~~writers~~ against Slavery and members of Congress are only to be found in works which they never read - or which they will not avail themselves of - Indeed, I who have published them in several of our papers, have been often complained of as a pro-Slavery man or at any rate as placing the matter on a wrong basis, because I dealt with it upon economical grounds only. But it was the dearness of bread and the obstructions thereby thrown in the way of commerce - which after 25 years struggle caused the Suppression of the corn duties

Repeal of the corn duties in England 1846

The principles of humanity and justice on which Slavery ought to be placed - Should be

kept in view, but I fear, in the existing low State of civilization in the Slave States - that not much impression can be made on the feelings of the people of the Slave or of the non Slave States.

but if I am mistaken, it is certainly well to appeal also to the selfish principles - if by so doing any thing can be gained by it. I am convinced that such views as I have, for some years past presented to the public, and which are now placed before the people of the Slave States by many influential persons, and through all considerable journals in the Slave States - will operate strongly in Maryland, Virginia, especially Western Virginia (one half the State with more than one half the free population of Virginia and only about 40.000 Slaves out of 448.987 the whole number) and in North Carolina, Kentucky, and some parts of Tennessee. The Cotton Rice and Sugar States, where Slave labor is yet profitable will not move in the matter, till the other Slave States have done something. If we can only get Maryland, Western Virginia and Kentucky to fix on a period - not a remote one, in which Slavery is to cease existence - the moral and political effect will be so strong as to compel others to fall in.

Delaware last year came within one vote in her Legislature of abolishing Slavery

Lee.

She will succeed the coming Lepiow.

I send you Mc Gregors work on the United States. In a few weeks I may have occasion for it and for the cotton letters.

Yours with regard &c.

H. Lee.

Waltham. 22. June 1848.

Dear Sir

I received yours of the 12th instant on the 19th instant. The delay in answering has been caused by my not being sooner able to obtain the information in regard to the probable cost of completing the W. R. R. I am told by an intelligent man of much experience in construction of roads - that for the second track about $18 to 160,000 20.000 per mile will be required, say for 120 miles at 18.000 - 2,1^

The direct expenses of the war will be about the amount of the public debt when all the demands on account of the war are adjusted - less about ten or fifteen millions of debt previously existing so far as a judgment can be formed in sums loaned and treasury statements of what may be required. I should estimate the whole war

debt at about $120.000.000 - inclusive of appropriations for pay of territory surrendered by Mexico. I do not consider the whole amount lost to the country - because in the disbursements a considerable amount has gone to ship owners and others for supplies and sums beyond what the parties might have received in time of peace - or if no war had happened.

Perhaps it might be safely said that the country had spent one hundred millions of dollars in the direct expenses of the war. This is a heavy sum taken from the active capital of the country - as contra distinguished from fixed capital, in which is comprised the mass of the property of the country.

There will be a heavy pension list, and it cannot be wholly discharged for forty years to come. Its amount will at any rate be several millions of dollars, and may be more if Congress and the Cabinet should act upon as corrupt principles as have heretofore been shown to have influenced these bodies in their fiscal and legislative action. If we take it at $4.000.000 per annum - it is the interest at 6 per cent, on $66.000.000. The granting pensions will give ample scope to the profligate policy likely to be pursued hereafter under any rulers the country is likely to have so long as the

Lee.

mass of voters are too unenlightened or too immoral to place in power men who prefer the interests of the country to the gratification of their own party and personal views. I have no great confidence in any radical improvement in the mass of the nation - at least in the demoralized and least civilized portions of it - till there are more ample means employed in educating them. Now it is by that portion of them, who are the least qualified for the exercise of the elective franchise - on whom we must rely for our rulers. In the free States there are principles at work which may and I doubt will not render the citizens of them more capable of estimating the benefits and blessings of free institutions and an increased power of maintaining them, than they now are. But we can venture to predict the time when the inhabitants of the South Western section of the present United States and those of the shores of Tepan and Mexican States hereafter to be created - will be sufficiently christianized and civilized to profit by them or to posess the ability to maintain them.

In regard to the indirect cost of the war, it must of course be a matter of conjecture. I can hardly doubt, however that it is beyond the direct expense occasioned to the

See.

country. It has not been the means of withdrawing a vast amount of labor from useful branches of industry - or large amount of capital for the employment thereof - but we have lost by disease &c some 20 or 30.000 men & thrice as many more have been crippled by disease, dissipation &c - a majority of whom will be useless and no small portion of whom fall into a State wherein they will be burdensome to the community and hindrances to the honest and industrious portions of Society in all branches of business.

The annual expenditure hereafter will be increased at least 10.000.000 or 15.000.000 beyond that of the period preceding the war. An army then did not exceed 8000 or 9000. It will hereafter be double that. The peace expenditure of army and navy for 19 years of peace was averaged at about 18 or 19.000.000. It will hereafter, in peace be 30.000.000 and 10.000.000 or 12.000.000 more for other expenses added to Several millions for pensions. Within 5 years too, I doubt not we shall extend our conquests to Central America - purchase or conquer Cuba. and perhaps take the remaining portion of Mexico. By that time or sooner the "democracy of the North" will be ready to rebel against the domination of the South and adopt some

See

Lee

measures for a separation of the Union giving the Slave holders Mexico and all the rest of the Continent South of the Mississippi for Slaves while the free people will retain the remainder and if we can not keep the peace, war must follow in which case the South as the weakest must yield to the North. In the interim Slave territory of the old States will be narrowed down by abolition of Slavery in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky North Carolina and probably Tennessee, in all of which Slave Labor has long since ceased to be profitable. At Henry Clay's death the non-Slave holding party in Kentucky will become stronger and Western Virginia will soon separate from the Slave-holding people of the Eastern part, or compel them to fix on a period not remote when Slavery shall cease to exist. Such facts as you have placed before the country showing that Slavery is incompatible with the moral and political advancement of a community - and what is much more operative on the feelings and acts of a nation - utterly incompatible with its material prosperity - Such facts as demonstrate, from past experience that poverty, ignorance and immorality are the concomitants and the effects of Slavery - will do more to accomplish its subversion than all the other considerations which can be presented to the minds of the parties concerned in it.

especially when directed to the minds of the non-Slave-holding portion of the population of the Slave States. As to the men now in power or those who may succeed them I make little or no account of their agency. They must do what is most conducive to the promotion of their political purposes. and what they think may be done by them without destroying their popularity and if they should be so honest and courageous as to act on any other principles, they would probably fail of getting offices or if otherwise of retaining them when in possession. It is impossible where universal suffrage prevails - and the rulers are not more enlightened than those of this country are - that we can be governed on any higher principles.

Yours

H. Lee.

Waltham, 8 July. 1848.

Dear Sir.

Since receiving your note of the 5th instant I have been searching long documents and speeches for information in regard to the subject of your communication but the statements are so loose and contradictory that I have not gained much light

See.

From such facts as are before the public, I should judge that the amount of public debt, when the outstanding demands are settled and Treasury notes now afloat redeemed or funded - could not be less than $125,000,000 nor more than $140 or 150,000,000. The amount of it prior to the Mexican war was, I believe, about 12 or 13,000,000 - all of which, probably would have been paid out of the surplus revenue - had not Texas been annexed and war, which is but a consequence of it - never existed. I think then, that at the end of two or three years or whenever all the war expenses and obligations are discharged - the cost of the Mexican war will not be less than $125,000,000. But that is not all. The increased cost of the army and navy, consequent upon the acquisition of territory will not be less than $3,000,000 per annum and there will be a pension list of several millions - which will not be cleared off short of a third of a century. Before the war about $25 or 28,000,000 was enough for our expenses. Hereafter it will not be less than $40,000,000. About 3/4 of this expenditure will fall upon the Free States and the balance to the Slave States for whose benefit Texas was annexed and Mexico conquered. I wish the whole might be thrown upon the Free States and double as much more and then we should begin to

estimate the pecuniary evils of the Slave extension policy, the main consideration, I fear, which is likely to stir up the mass of the Northern people against the progressive movements of the Slaveocracy of the South aided by servile and corrupt Self-Styled "democracy of the North" and to a great extent by their political opponents. The "Barn Burners" may perhaps build up a party which may make a stand against farther designs of the South, but I fear resentment for loss of office and power has had more to do with the movement so far as its leaders are concerned in it — than an honest intention to restrain the South. There are some persons engaged in it for whom I have respect — but no men in the country have been more subservient to the policy of the Slave States than Van Buren, Cambreling, B. F. Butler and others — and if the Vice Presidency had been offered to John Van Buren — it has been said that he would have made peace with his opponents. Still as men of the meanest characters and of the worst principles find it for their interest to go in a right direction — let us hope good may grow out of the new party.

One of the great disadvantages the Free States labor under is the power they possess of corrupting popular men of the North by

Lee.

means of their political ascendency. This will continue to be the case if Cass is elected and perhaps to a greater extent than if Taylor is elected. It is on that principle I prefer the latter to the former. If, however, he should take a wise direction as is not impossible - good may grow out of it - We want to suffer more and to apprehend more from Slave domination in order to raise the great mass of the people to a just sense of present evils and impending danger Until such is the case the men in office and those who are in pursuit of one - will not venture in Congress to resist Southern pretensions because by so doing the Whig and the Democratic parties as now organized will be broken up and those who lead them - will suffer. I have no belief that much good can grow out of the Seceding party in Massachusetts. They have not yet a single newspaper to communicate their views to the people save the Whig - and the circulation is nothing. The other papers cannot even receive communications and publish them, without believing that they will be ruined by a desertion of their subscribers There is not now a paper which would admit such articles as I have heretofore had published in the Courier on the evils of Slavery, economical and moral and intellectual. It is in vain to

hope for influence over the popular mind when the whole prep is against you and there is not generosity and zeal enough in the new party to support a paper. The Courier which has great circulation and much influence and many able correspondents might perhaps have been kept in Mr B's. hands - if the proprietors could have been assured of as much support from the independent party as they would have had from the Taylor party - had it continued its independent course. There is not now a single newspaper in Massachusetts or New England that I am acquainted with on which an independent man can count upon as a vehicle of conveyance for his opinions upon Slavery - banking - tariff. and many other important questions unless they shall be in accordance with the views and schemes of Democrats or Whigs. This is a sign that men of intelligence, reputation and property take very little interest in the discussion of them and do not fear that any evil consequences will arise from them in whatever way they may be discussed and settled. There are not 500 men in New England who would subscribe $50 or $20 per annum for the coming 5 or 10 years. if they could be convinced that the funds proposed to be thus raised would

Lee.

prevent the extension of Slavery - and all the evil consequences likely to follow from such a policy. There is but one calamity connected with the course we are pursuing which can have much weight on the minds of the most influential portion of the people of the Atlantic States. That is a war with Great Britain or France and especially the former. We should be in no danger of invasion but the Commercial and navigating States would have several hundred millions Shipping and loss of Commerce; and have to pay 50. 000. 000 for their Share of the expenses of the war. The Slave Atlantic States dread an invasion of their coasts from the almost-certainty of a servile war which could easily be produced by landing a few thousand troops and 100. 000 or 200, 000 Stand of arms. It was that apprehension that induced the Southern politicians to end the war of 1812 - the moment Buonaparte was ruined - peace made between Great Britain and the rest of Europe. They knew that Great Britain when having her 700 or 1000 Ships of war and 120,000 troops at leisure - could land forces enough to destroy their seaports - arm 200. 000 Slaves and ruin the low country. Such being the case they eagerly made peace - without having accomplished a single object for which the war was undertaken It was that fear of invasion and Servile war - which induced Benton, Calhoun, Berrien and other

Slave Senators to vote against the 54„40 men - so as to enable the Government or to compel it - to settle the Oregon Question on the terms proposed by Great Britain.

One of the most cheering views I have in regard to Slavery springs from the conviction that it will soon be abolished in Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky and Western Virginia and if so North Carolina and Tennessee will follow. Even the acquisition of Virginia or Kentucky would have an immense effect on other Slave States. All that is wanted to induce the non-Slave-holding population in the Slave States to assist in the abolition of Slavery - remotely at some fixed period ahead - is a better understanding of its evils - pecuniary, moral, religious, social and political. Much has been done in the North and something in the South of late years to enlighten them. The facts you put forth have done more good than all the writings of men who instead of proving by facts and by figures the actual evils of Slavery and the still greater impending ones - are employed in railing at the Slaveholders and inciting the Slaves to murder them. I do not mean to impeach the motives of many of those who thus deal with the subject

Lee.

but I am sure they cannot accomplish any good purpose. The only motive to hold a Slave is to profit by him. Show him that is a fallacy and he is an abolitionist. Again - Show those who cannot profit by Slaves - if they are ever so profitable - that he is impoverished and degraded by the existence of Slavery and he will become an enemy to Slavery, and as there are but 100.000 families or less who hold Slaves enough to feel an interest in the continuance of Slavery - it requires the conversion of only a small portion of non Slaveholders in Slave States to force the Slaveholders to fix upon a period when Slavery shall cease to exist.

I shall always be glad to furnish any information you may be in want of, so far as at my command. I shall soon be more at leisure and more able to serve you.

Yours truly
H. Lee.

Boston, 28 July, 1848

Dear Sir.

I cannot find among my papers the papers you want. I was absent from the country at the delivery of the Oration and have never had or seen a copy. It may probably

be at the Athenaeum, and if not perhaps it may be found in a National Intelligencer of the year after the peace of 1815. In respect to the other productions of Mr Adams I have no knowledge beyond that of hearing it mentioned as a Satire on the character and conduct of Jefferson. It must have been written I think while Mr Adams was a Student of law at Newburyport, the date of which may be mentioned in some of the notices lately published of his life.

Yours truly
H. Lee.

Brookline, 25. June 1856.

Dear Sir.

I have just received your letter of this date. I know of no documents which can afford the information you want; or I would have taken time to examine them and report the result.

The commerce between the Southern States (namely, all the Slave States from Delaware South and West) is carried on by interchanges of the various commodities of the two Sections - North and South.

Lee.

We receive their Cotton, tobacco, rice, sugar and moderate quantities of maize, lumber, and small quantity of wood and other articles. We give in return cotton and woollen goods, leather wares and hay, flour from the Western States, and a large amount of beef, pork, lard and malt from the Free States, great amount of products of the Mechanic and Manufacturing arts of considerable value in the aggregate.

But as we pay for all we receive in cash and as they pay us in notes on time for almost every thing we send the Slave States - it follows that there is always a large amount due us from every one of the Southern States - what may be the amount must be a matter of conjecture. It could only be judged of by ascertaining from merchants and others who sold them goods, or who lend them money. The sum cannot I apprehend fall short of thirty or forty millions of dollars in the form of best credits and promising notes.

Again the Shares in Railways and other undertakings are held to a great amount by people of the Commercial cities and a much larger amount in Bonds issued to provide funds for carrying on various improvements.

Again I should say that a considerable portion of the capitals traded upon in Charleston, Savannah, New Orleans, St Louis

Baltimore. Richmond &c. &c. was invested in Steam Boats, belonging to persons in the Free States. That in regard to Baltimore, the only thrifty commercial city in the Slave region - a large portion of the goods in its Ware Houses were supplied from Philadelphia New York and Boston, and were sold by the Consignees for the benefit of the Northern Assignees to the South Western and Southern States on long terms of credit.

But how to form an estimate approximating to the reality I have no means of its accomplishment.

The poverty of all the Slave States in comparison with the wealth of the Free States renders the exchanges of products utterly insignificant when contrasted with those going on between the States of the North Massachusetts derives more benefit from her commercial dealings with two such States as Pennsylvania than with all the Slave States.

I regret my inability to supply information of a more satisfactory nature, and from the nature of the case the facts on which to test a statement, cannot I apprehend, be obtained in any quarter

Yours truly
H. Lee.

Sumner.

Court St. October. 26th 1843.

My dear Sir

In looking over Lappenberg's History of England under the Anglo Saxon Kings which has been recently translated by Thorpe. I have met with a couple of pages (Vol. I. p.p. 320. 321) concerning Saxon Slavery, ~~but~~ I doubt not you are already familiar with the work.

Faithfully Yours

Charles Sumner.

Court-St. Thursday

Dear Parker.

I have read your note with pleasure and general assent though I once imbibed the more technical view.

I cannot help you about the Codex Leg. Burg. without ransacking the Bibliographical Guides which are not at hand. But with these you are as much at home as I am.

Ever yours.

Charles Sumner.

Court St. Monday. Sept. 1846
alludes to Parker's praise of his Φ.B.K. Address.

My dear Sir.

I read your note when I no longer listened to your voice, with many thanks for your kindness, with joy that I have given you satisfaction.

I have copied the Epigram, which I take from a work on ancient art.

Yours sincerely
Charles Sumner

8th 1846

Boston, Monday. June ~~20th 1846~~

My dear Sir.

I call for the printing of the admirable discourse of yesterday, which I listened to with breathless interest. You gave a fresh turn to the great Kaleidoscope, revealing new shapes and forms of the unutterable atrocity of war. The battle between the Bostonians and men of Middlesex was pictured with a blood truth. I thought of what was said of the old painter, that he mixed human flesh in the colors with which he so successfully depicted the dead carcass.

You seemed to recognize war as

Sumner

at times an agent of good. It may have been so. Still doubts will rise to my mind.

"Arnold somewhere exults over the subversion of Carthage and the Punic victories of Rome. What mortal can say that evil has not flowed from the termination of that strife? If Carthage had prevailed, perhaps the civilizing genius of commerce would have sooner ruled the world, instead of the eagle of Rome. If neither had prevailed, then commerce and war might have stood at bay. We exult in Marathon and Thermopylae. My blood tingles under the recital of what was done on those fields; it goes forth, of course, with the defenders of the right; but I cannot but ask myself, how can I, weak mortal, determine that mankind gained or lost on those fields? What we have we know and can prize; but the consequences of a reverse are unknown. Who can say that the commingling of Persian and Grecian blood would not have made a people superior even to the Greeks - that we should not have had the taste versatility and eloquence of the latter, with a Lydian softness, forming a character more in harmony with the gentleness of Christianity? Good may have developped after a war; but, perhaps, it was not <u>because</u> of the war, but <u>in spite</u> of the war.

Thinking of these things a doubt always rises to my mind, whether we can safely say that mankind has gained by war more than by any other sin, as cannibalism, adultery, fornication, polygamy.

Don John of Austria was the illegitimate offspring of an adulterous connexion; but we do not therefore, give glory to adultery, or to the father who begat him.

Yesterday afternoon I heard a Christ like sermon from Samuel Longfellow, whom you know, who startled Mr Newell's velvet cushions by praying for "our country now, in her hour of shame" (at which one Wentworth a loco-foco rose and left the church) and preaching the unrighteousness of the war in which we are now engaged.

William Story has just read me a fine poetical Appeal for Peace, which he sends to the Boston Courier. The cry is still they come! The voices are thickening, but you must print.

Yours Sincerely
Charles Sumner

You did me too much honor in the allusion to me. Little did I think when I went to that pageant of the 4th of July, to perform a solemn duty, which had been imposed on me

Sumner.

contrary to my deserts by the City that I was earning any title to such praises.

Court St. Saturday
Probably in the
Autumn of 1847

My dear Sir,

I do not think that the hour or the man has yet come for your journal. Most certainly I am not the man.

I have not the time or disposition for such a work. I see, or seem to see, other ways in which at least for the present I can better employ any leisure which I may have. Nor do I see at present how to organize the Journal You will remember, Comte organisait la victoire Before such a journal is commenced, its character and objects should be determined with reasonable certainty, and its supporters, marshalled There must also be a background of capital I trust it must not "wait an hour to be born"; but sure I am the time has not come.

A difficulty might arise in determining how far it should go. Of course, it must sustain what is true and right - not merely what is expedient - but some persons see truth at a greater distance

than others; and many might feel constrained by the discipline even of our journal unless it were flung wide-open to every form of opinion. But why discuss these things? I am not the man. I will not be the man. In my own way, I hope for yet other opportunities of bearing my testimony.

Yours sincerely,
Charles Sumner

Court St. Thursday

Dear Mr Parker.

Have you any treatise by Servey or anybody else on Egalité? It seems to me that there was such among the spoils which I took from your library more than a year ago. If you have please send it to me by the bearer

Ever yours
Charles Sumner

Court St. Tuesday 1849

Dear Parker

I leave this afternoon on my Sally; but cannot satisfy myself without prompting you to prompt Russel to write in behalf of Mann. If he is not disposed to touch the classical

Sumner

question, let him say something, that will be a sort of back-water to the present tide. The two things that labor are the classics and the personalities. Of the last, it is to be said, that Webster cast the first stone — he was the aggressor. Mann acted strictly upon the lex talionis; if not upon the law of self-defence.

I have tried to move G. B. Emerson in the same direction; also old Mr Hoar; but little will come of this. After all Mann must do it finally himself calla penna.

But a word from Russell would be potential now.

Ever yours.

Charles Sumner.

Court St. Wednesday.

Dear Mr Parker.

Here is Sahagun which I obtained only yesterday.

I also send back one of your books; the rest shall follow soon. I intended to return them all to-day; but on taking a last look at them this morning I experienced the feeling with which we part with those whose society has been instructive. "Stay, yet a little longer", I said.

I owe you a visit, which I hope, for my own satisfaction to repay before you leave town.

Yours very faithfully

Charles Sumner.

Court St. Saturday, 1850

Dear Parker.

I am still in earnest that you should print your volumes. I know they will sell. Speak to a publisher, Crosby or Muzzey.

Print two distinct books — one Sermons the other Occasional Addresses and Speeches.

A pamphlet sells harder than a book.

You allude to myself. You will sell much better than I do. Of this I am entirely satisfied. I repeat that I desire your publication on two grounds. 1st for the cause; since what is printed in volumes is more accessible than the contents of pamphlets; and 2ndly, for your own sake. Such volumes would give you a sounding-board, under which your voice, in the coming contests, will have a stronger echo.

"What is writ is writ." This is true. But nothing is truly "writ" in a permanent sense, which is not printed in volumes. Ever yours.

Charles Sumner.

Sumner.

P. S. I tried last Autumn to read that N. S. but it did not interest me. I will try again.

Monday.

Dear Parker.

I think you will find the Revue de Legislation et de Jurisprudence at the Athenaeum; also the Revue Etrangère. With both of these I was once familiar; but I have not seen them of late. I think the Revue Etrangère is now dead.

The best Law Journal of the Continent is Mittermaier's Kritische Zeitschrift für Rechtswissenschaft und Gesetzgebung. Many volumes of this are in the Athenaeum, I think. If not there you may find them at Judge Cushing's. I have a few numbers, sent to me by Mittermaier but most of mine I have sent to the Library at Cambridge. What I have is at your service.

Ever yours
Charles Sumner.

Court St. Monday. 185-0 (?)

Dear Parker.

I read your Sermon yesterday

aloud to Longfellow. We both admired it much. I cannot forbear saying this.

It is comprehensive, and abundant in details - like the music of Mozart. If Hunker could read it without being made a better man

Ever faithfully yours.
Charles Sumner.

Court St. April 19th 1851.

My dear Parker.

May you live a thousand years, always preaching the truth of Fast Day! That sermon is a noble effort. It stirred me to the bottom of my heart, at times softening me almost to tears, and then again filling me with rage. I wish it could be read everywhere throughout the land.

You have placed the Commissioner in an immortal pillory, to receive the hootings and rotten eggs of the advancing generations.

I have had no confidence from the beginning - as I believe you know in our courts. I was persuaded that with solemn form they would sanction the great enormity. Therefore, I am not disappointed

Sumner.

My appeal is to the people, and my hope is to create in Massachusetts such a Public Opinion as will render the law a dead letter. It is in vain to expect its repeal by Congress till the Slave Power is overthrown.

It is, however, with a rare dementia that this Power has staked itself on a position which is so offensive, and which cannot for any length of time be tenable. In enacting that law, it has given to the Free States a sphere of discussion which they would otherwise have missed. No other form of the Slavery Question — not even the Wilmot proviso — would have afforded equal advantages.

Very truly Yours,
Charles Sumner.

Court St. July 9th 1851.

Dear Parker.

Your last Speech in the Liberator I have read with the interest and instruction with which I read all that you say; but pardon me if I criticise one point.

You speak of me as having "an early reward for good deeds." This language reminds me of the Atlas, which did not see what I had done "to be thus rewarded".

Now I am not conscious of doing any thing to deserve "reward", nor am I conscious of receiving any "reward". The office recently conferred upon me, and to which you, probably, refer. I regard as any thing but a "reward". In my view it is an imposition of new duties and labors, in a field which I never selected and to which I do not in the least incline. But enough of this. It seems to me that you accidentally fall into the language of the world.

Let me again express a hope that you will collect your Speeches and Sermons into volumes, with hard covers. In that form they will be permanently accessible, and will be a source of power to you.

I wish that Emerson's Lecture on Webster and the Fugitive Slave Bill could be published. Cannot you prevail upon him to consent? His words should be on their office of good, abroad and at home.

Ever yours.

Charles Sumner.

Boston, August 11th 1851.

Dear Parker.

I send the M. S. which interests me, as I now recur to it, so much, that I shall

Sumner.

ask to see it again unless you prohibit me.

Thanks for the Sermon which I take to-morrow morning in the cars.

Ever yours.

Charles Sumner.

Washington, 15th of December 1851.

Dear Parker

I enclose a couple of mottos for the title-page of my new volume. Which shall I take? The first or second? or both? or none? Let me have your judgment at once, as I expect the proof of the title immediately. Seward is to be in Boston the day before his Oration at Plymouth.

Ever yours

Charles Sumner.

The verses from Goethe are from the last words of Faust, just before his translation, at the close of the 2nd part. I would see

"Such busy multitudes I fain,
Stand on Free Soil with a people free."

Goethe's Faust.

Nihil autem gloriosius libertate, praeter virtutem. Si tamen libertas recte a virtute sejungitur

John of Salisbury

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Ever yours

Charles Sumner.

Solch ein Gewim-
mel möcht' ich
sehen, auf
freiem Grund
mit freiem
Volke stehn.

The verses from Goethe are from the last words of Faust, just before his translation, at the close of the 2nd part. I would see

"Such busy multitudes I aim,
Stand on Free Soil with a people free."

Goethe's Faust.

Nihil autem gloriosius libertate, praeter virtutem, si tamen libertas recte a virtute sejungitur

John of Salisbury

Senate Chamber. February 6th 1852

Dear Parker.

I have yours of 25th January, proposing to me to write an article on Judge Story in the Westminster Review.

As a filial service I should be glad to do this. But how can I?

I rarely go to bed before 1 or 2 o'clock at night — and then I leave work undone, which ought to be done.

My correspondence is considerable, taking much time. I am not able to read all the public documents placed on my table. The public questions, now before the Senate, would more than occupy every moment. Of the importance of these you know something; but you do not know the other duties of this place. I am on two Committees — that on Roads and Canals and that on Revolutionary Claims. Before the latter Committee are claims amounting to upwards of four millions of dollars — three or four times the amount adjudicated by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in a whole year, assisted by the bar of Massachusetts. But this is enough.

Mann has received your books thankfully, and wishes me to say so.

Sumner.

Should you receive duplicate documents I desire you to circulate them.

Read my Speech on Lands. The Whig press is aroused; but I challenge it. I have the satisfaction of knowing that my argument has been received as original and unanswerable. The attack of the Advertiser attests its importance.

I shall always be glad to hear from you, and shall value your counsels.

Ever yours
Charles Sumner.

Senate Chamber. August 11th 1852.

Dear Parker.

I must at least acknowledge your letter of friendship and admonition.

I will not argue the question of past delay. To all that can be said on that head, there is this explicit answer. With a heart full of devotion to our cause, in the exercise of my best discretion, and on the advice or with the concurrence of friends. I have waited. It may be that this was unwise; but it was honestly and sincerely adopted, with a view to serve the cause. Let this pass.

You cannot desire a speech

from me more than I desire to make one
I came to the Senate, on my late motion,
prepared for the work, hoping to be allowed
to go on, with the promise of leaders from all
sides that I should have a hearing. I was cut off.
No chance for courtesy. I must rely upon my rights
You tell me not to wait for the Civil
Appropriation Bill. I know, dear Parker, that
it is hardly within the range of possibilities
that any other bill should come forward
before this Bill to which my Amendment
can be attached. For 10 days we have been on
the Indian Appropriation Bill.
With this the Fugitive Slave Bill is
not germane.
The Civil Appropriation Bill
will probably pass the House to-day. It will
come at once to the Senate. be referred to the
Committee on Finance. be reported back
by them with amendments After the
Consideration of these amendments of the
Committee, and not before, my chance will
come. For this I am prepared, with a
determination equal to your own. All this
delay is to me a source of grief and disappointment
But I know my heart; and I know that
sincerely, singly I have striven for the cause.
You remember the pictures in the Ancient

Sumner.

Mariner of the Ship in the terrible calm. In such a calm my Ship is at this moment I can not move it; but I have not harmed an albatross. But enough of this. I claim the confidence of friends, for I know that I deserve it.

Monday the President sent me a message that he had pardoned Drayton & Sayers and implored me to communicate the result to them. This I had the satisfaction of doing. The formal papers have not yet reached the hand of the Marshall. Do not speak of this aloud, until you hear that they are actually beyond the clutch of the District. Here ends one of the miserable charges against me. The others will end so on.

Ever yours.
Charles Sumner.

P. S. Mason said to me this morning; "I see my friend Theodore Parker is after you. The Liberator also calls Butler an overseer." How gross the interpretation by the Liberator of the little sotto voce between Butler and myself. He stood in front of my desk when he spoke. I had no purpose of discussing the South Carolina laws, and promptly said so. There is a time for all things.

Washington, Sunday.
August 52

Dear Howe.

I shall be heard. Believe me, I have meditated this subject anxiously with a single desire to do my duty, and I mean to do it. But you must wait the natural procession of the months.

On the civil Appropriation Bill I shall have an Amendment providing that no part of the appropriation shall be applied to the execution of the Fugitive Slave Bill; and that the same be repealed. According to all precedent this motion will be in order. It cannot be set aside, without setting aside all justice and rule. Then my time will come. But this will not be till the very close of the Session. Therefore be patient.

It was unfortunate that Hale and Chase were both absent last week. I needed their presence and help. The remarks I made purposely avoided all offensive matter, as I desired to propitiate the Senate, so as to secure a hearing. For the same reason I avoided a reply to Butler and others. I was unwilling by anything from my lips to give them an apology for their tyranny.

Many think I should have spoken

earlier. It is easy for persons at a distance, who see only a part of the field to criticise. For myself, I know this; — I have acted according to my best judgment, taking into view the whole country, and my whole term of service. Thus far my instincts have guided me in Anti-Slavery. They are not apt to err.

I am still sanguine that Drayton and Sayers will be pardoned — perhaps this very week. Their case is constantly in my thoughts.

Send this letter to Theodore Parker; also to the editor of the Commonwealth, though you must not allow any public use of its contents.

Ever, dear Chev.

Charles Sumner.

P. S.

I am still weak from the old complaint, and on the day I expected to speak my bowels were wrenched with pains and gripings. I do not know that I could have stood on my legs the 3 or 4 hours I intended to speak.

Had I spoken I should have taken a vacation of a week or fortnight after.

Washington, August 1852.

Saturday evening

Dear Parker.

Seward has written you a brief note of me. I write to say, that he wrote without any suggestion or hint from me, and that I knew nothing of his purpose, until it was done.

I will not now argue things with you. But I commend to your meditations the Life of Admiral Byng. I know my own conscience, and feel its approbation. I have acted according to my best judgment and I still believe for the best interests of the cause I have at heart. It is easy to criticise and denounce. But, by my past life, by all that I have done, by my devotion to this cause, I claim the confidence of its friends. Of course, my political enemies will condemn me.

Could I talk with you I could explain much. But this must be left to the Future.

In my course I have thought little what people would say, whether Whigs or Free Soilers, but how I could most serve the cause. This consciousness sustains me now

Sumner.

while I hear reports of distrust and note the gibes of the press.

Nothing but death. or deadly injustice overthrowing all rule, can prevent me from speaking. I'm waiting till I did I was right.

Ever yours.

Charles Sumner

Senate Chamber.
August 28th 1832.

Private

Dear Parker.

Two indictments have been brought against me; (1) for non-feasance in the case of Drayton and Sayers. (2) for non-feasance in the Senate. To both I plead not guilty, and put myself on the country.

To all who understand what was done in the case of Drayton and Sayers. I fearlessly submit that my course was the true one. Most easily I could have moved in the matter before the Senate. Little effort or courage was required for that. I leave it to you to determine, whether more was not required

for me — considering my position — to press this upon the President and his Cabinet.

Enough of this.

And now for the 2nd indictment. I have spoken late, but, probably with more effect than I could have spoken at an earlier day — certainly by a greater effort of what the world calls courage. I wrested from the Senate a day, from noon to 7 o'clock in the evening, while business of all kinds was urgent. I leave my speech to take care of itself. I know it has produced an effect. Our friends have been encouraged by it; and, from perverse Hunkers and Slave-holders I have had testimony to its power. One Hunker Senator Clarke of Rhode Island, said "it would be a text-book after they were all dead" Another, Weller of California, said "it would do more mischief than any speech ever made in the country." I might quote many other testimonies, which have in them more of personal compliment. Polk of Tennessee, listened to me for two hours and said to Chase, that he "could not say it aloud, but that the argument was unanswerable".

Pardon these details. In communicating them, I count upon your friendship.

Badger was put forward by the tribe to reply to me; but he was infinitely feeble. I thought of

Sumner.

rejoining; but Hale exhorted me not to say anything; and Soulé tells me to-day that I acted wisely in not rejoining; he says Badger feels piqued that I took no notice of him.

And now let me say, that no criticism has been more unjust than that on my course when I proposed to take up my resolution. Edmund Quincy, and others complain because I was so polite and failed to reply to the fire-eaters. My course was adopted on System. It was my System, deliberately adopted. I can tell you when we meet, things which will satisfy you. Had I pursued any other course, I should have made a brief rally; but I should not have got the floor for my Speech during the Session. King's anger when I had the floor and opened on Slavery, showed itself in countenance and muttered words. Webster was present for an hour, while I spoke. I held the floor 3 3/4 hours. I think you will find that I have grouped the whole subject anew, and have introduced some new links into the argument.

I am weary and long for rest; but I must remain here for several days - perhaps a week - after the close of the Session.

The Liberator with your Speech is now before me, full of your unequalled power.

Ever yours
Charles Sumner.

Washington, December 17th 1852.

Dear Parker.

I was pained more than I can tell by Seward's course in swelling the Webster tide. I pleaded with him not to do it; so did his colleague. It is incomprehensible to me.

From day to day, in conversation with me, he had hoped that we "might be spared any such day of humiliation."

I await the corrected edition of your Sermon, which has produced every where a profound impression. The writers for the Washington Union have all read it, and Priol, the young Virginian who has been placed in this establishment as the representative of Mason, Hunter and Meade, read it through twice, and then announced to his friends, that there was but one course for them - viz. "to maintain that Slavery was an unmixed good".

I hope some good friend in Boston will feel able to send a copy of the corrected edition to every member of Congress.

Ever yours,

Charles Sumner.

Sumner.

Senate Chamber.
December 27th 1852.

Dear Parker.

This morning Seward came to me, and inquired your address. Giving it to him I said, "do you wish to know what he thinks of you?" "Yes" said he, — I then handed him your letter. He seemed absorbed in it, and returning it to me, asked me to forward to you the enclosed letter already written. I trust I did not take too great a liberty in shewing it. The tone was kindly though full of regret. He has since followed it of me to shew to his wife, who agrees with us.

I will speak to Calderon of the Cuban Laws. I have a large work, privately printed by the French Government on Cuba, which I think must contain the information you seek. This will be at your command on my return. But I think the practical question of Cuba is now suspended.

Seward was engaged in the Supreme Court when the vote was taken to which you refer. It seems to me that the vote in question has been exaggerated. I should be unwilling to say that all the nays were in favor of proscription. The simple question was of postponement. Though Chase announced that he wished the vote to be a test on the question of proscription, yet I told him at the time that it

would not be accepted as such.

I await your homily on Webster.

Ever yours.

Charles Sumner.

Senate Chamber. 1853.

January 6th — my birthday

epiphemy — 42 years ago.

Dear Parker.

I shall be glad to possess that volume which has not yet been received. Your last two Sermons I read with true interest.

Unluckily the Cuban correspondence is not published for distribution, but merely for the use of the Senate. It is the same with that of Hayti.

Owen's Geology of Iowa is grandly published. 2 quartos, which you will receive soon.

Ever yours.

Charles Sumner.

I have to-day prefaced upon the President, and then upon the Secretary of State to introduce into the Treaty now negotiating with England a Stipulation to refer future disputes to Arbitration. They have each received the request kindly — promised to entertain it. I think an impression was produced.

Sumner.

1853. Saturday.

Dear Parker.

Your sermons and addresses I always read, as reported, and rejoice to have them together. The Introduction looks tempting; but I have not yet touched it.

Have you the Congressional Globe of last Session? As I have but 11 copies, I would not multiply them in your hands. But if you are without I have a copy for you.

Ever yours.
Charles Sumner.

Washington, March 27th 1853.

Dear Parker.

Yesterday the Senate ordered the publication of the despatches of our Envoy, Mr Schenck at Rio Janeiro - all on the Slave trade and numbering some 24. These reveal the negligence of Mr Webster. Though the Minister earnestly prayed for instructions, saying that the trade was conducted under our flag, and that the silence of the Government brought our profession against the Slave trade into discredit: he could get no answer from Mr Webster, and there is reason to believe that his despatches were not even read.

This may draw in question the true character of Mr Webster's early arrows on Plymouth rock against the Slave trade.

Truman Smith admires your Discourse and desires a copy. His hatred of Mr Webster is implacable.

Ever yours.
Charles Sumner.

Washington March 28th 1853.

My dear Parker.

Your discourse is grand. It will travel forever by the side of its Subject, judging him before the world.

I do hope that, by some charitable agency, copies will be sent to all members of Congress. They will read it, and its truth will prevail with many.

Howe's pen quickens in the Commonwealth. I rejoice in his influence, but I do mourn the feud between brothers in Anti-Slavery. If Phillips (whom I love, as an early comrade and a faithful man) or Pillsbury rail at me or judge me for my small work in Anti-Slavery, I will not reply. To me the cause is so dear that I am unwilling to let

Sumner.

myself against any of its champions. I would not add to their bruteness by any word of mine.

In proportion as the position of our pioneer friends seems more untenable and less practical, they cling to it with absolute desperation. If the skill and eloquence of Phillips, as evinced in his late speech had been directed not against allies but against Slavery and its enormities - against its influence on our Government - against J Conkers he would have struck a good blow, like yourself on that occasion.

Vale! Ever yours.
Charles Sumner.

Boston. August 6th 1853.

Dear Parker.

With the exception of a meagre address, which is preserved in the Jurist of 20 years ago. Shaw's productions are his judgments in the Reports of Pickering, Metcalf and Cushing - a goodly number - and all having a uniform stamp. He is always verbose; but instructive; and deals with his cases strongly. I do not agree with Mann in his admiration of his powers; nor do I agree with the late Benjamin R and when he insisted upon calling him "muddy-mettled". You will see his powers in the case of the Slave

Sum

Wed. His opinions, like Story's, are too long; but they are less interesting than Story's, have less life and lack his learning.

Parsons decisions are in the early volumes of Massachusetts Reports. In his day judges were less full in their opinions than now; but his are instructive still. I think he was the earliest of the great lawyers of our country. But he was more than a lawyer. Read the sketch of him at the end of one of the Massachusetts Reports, and you will see what was claimed for his scholarship. He affected Greek and wrote a Greek Grammar. That most remarkable document, the Essex Result (among the tracts of Boston Athenaeum) - inferior to nothing in the political history of Massachusetts, and far beyond anything from Shaw, I lend him to have had proved of a high order. Some of the ideas were borrowed from John Adams's letter to R. H. Lee of Virginia, and others are rejected now, but it contains political truths, couched in language of great power and clearness. I once had in my profession all the law M. S. S. of Parsons, and from time to time, made selections from them in the first. They were not of much importance.

I write now without any opportunity of consulting books. I would not-

Sumner.

undervalue Shaw; but I should give the palm to Parsons.

Yours ever

Charles Sumner.

Hancock St. Wednesday.

Dear Parker.

Here is a Sketch of interrogations prepared some years ago by E. G. Loring to be addressed by J. Q. Adams to the Governors of the British West Indies. He tells me you are interested in having the work done. Of course you are. What can we do? The time is at hand when accurate answers will be needed. Let me know soon.

Yours ever

Charles Sumner.

Newport R. I
August 21st 1853.

My dear Parker

Each member of Congress has a single copy of the Archives and of many other Public Documents. Mine is at Washington, and forms part of my little collection there. If here it would be at your service.

Mr Irving and myself pressed J. Q. Adams at Quincy to sign the Interrogatives, and address them to the Governors of the British West Indies and he declined. This was just before his death. Since then I have often thought of them, and now more than ever desire the answers. I anticipate discussions next session which may be helped by such responses as we should have. These interrogatives are pointed and searching.

I am at a loss what to do with them. Lord Carlisle is not in England. He has gone to the East. Lord Brougham is aged and uncertain. I have thought of addressing the interrogatives in my own name to the Governors: but on some grounds I shrink from this. I should still be glad of your councils.

I am anxious to have you exhibit in speech or tract of the operation of Emancipation: that which you forbore at Framingham. For your kind interpretation of me believe me grateful. Let me say, how-

ever, that, while I feel that at Plymouth, I did no justice to myself or my own thoughts. I do not think I could have more strictly spoken without violation of the implied compact, under which I accepted the invitation. It is my delight always to take advantage of opportunities to vindicate the good cause, and I believe I have used them as often as any body in New England. I refer of course to general occasions, not to special Anti-Slavery gatherings. Pardon this egotism.

Here is a note from Mr Hodgson, who married one of the largest slave proprietors of Georgia, which may interest you.

Ever yours
Charles Sumner.

Letter from W. B. Hodgson to Charles Sumner.

Newport August 13th
Atlantic Hotel.

My dear Sir,

I pray you accept my best thanks for the copy of Obituary notices, on occasion of the death of the great Massachusetts Statesman. This graceful Memorial of Daniel Webster is an eloquent tribute, from the august Senate of this modern Rome. These Obituary notices, which I shall preserve with great care & affection, will be placed as the full

Complement of his "Works" which now illustrate and adorn my library —
I wish that Theodore Parker's eulogy had been provided with it, expunging the unmanly abuse of the deceased, and the unphilosophic critique or denunciation of May 7. 1850 —
The eulogistic part of Parker's sketch is a glorious composition, and I think will live as long as our Saxon. The rest if remembered will be his disgrace.

Believe me
Ever, Truly yours
W. B. Hodgson.

Washington 3d Jan.y 1857

Dear Parker,

This evening I dined in the company of several of the judges of the Supreme Court, and in the shuffle for seats at the table found myself next but one to Curtis — throughout a protracted dinner of 2 or 3 hours. I had not seen so much of him for years, and make haste to send you the pleasant impressions which I had.
Commodore Morris got between me and the judge. Governor Brown of Mississippi on his left. Slavery divine, on my left. In the course of our conversation, Curtis said that he had not voted since he had been a judge, and he professed entire ignorance

Sumner

of politics and parties. I thought also that he showed it.

My conversation with him was so agreeable that I shall call upon him, which I have not done thus far, since I have been in Washington.

Ever yrs
C. S.

Oh! that atrocious message!

March. 1854.
Washington – Sunday

Dear Parker:

The tract of Manny to which you refer, is his paper addressed to the Memphis Convention, — not to Congress.

You have received from me Herndon's Report; Have you not?

Your sermon on Nebraska is powerful and grand: but that on Old Age is touching — very very — I took it up after midnight, and before moving to bed read it faithfully and tearfully. This the simple fact.

Howe was here, like a perturbed spirit, for a few days, and then suddenly departed.

Ever yrs
C. S.

Senate Chamber 9th March 1854

My dear Parker.

Thanks for your words of cheer. Freedom is for a while defeated: but I turn to the Country and to God, and do not despair.

Benton says that the North will never be on its legs. He speaks with infinite derision of the Senate, and says that it will be a bye-word of shame, to be repudiated by the Country.

This wickedness has bred me much. It has taken from me sleep and appetite. Upon Chase and myself has fallen the fiery brunt.

At midnight on the last day, I took the floor to speak for an hour or more again: but Douglass held it against me, and afterwards I was dissuaded by friends not to speak again.

I hear nothing from Howe. Is he ill? I trust not.

Ever yrs

Charles Sumner

P. S. In my course, you will observe, that I have been governed by my own individuality — not following others but myself.

P. S. Send me a <u>list of references</u> on the character and condition of the negro-race in every aspect. — <u>Soon</u>.

Sumner

Washington 22d March 1854.

Dear Parker,

Be sure that I have a reason for my course.

The clergymen through their agent selected Mr Evarts, to present their memorial, and thus marked him as their guardian. Until he spoke I could not speak, without a most indelicate interference with him; and after he spoke — although I was burning to say something — it seemed difficult to speak without placing myself in unkind contrast with him. You wish I had spoken rather than Houston — While Douglass was speaking, and I was watching him. With intense interest, Houston whose seat is near mine, cried out "Sumner — dont speak — dont speak — Leave him to me —" To which I replied — "Will you take care of him" — "I will if you wont speak," said the General. His desire was that Douglass should have no occasion to mix Chase or myself with that remonstrance.

But these things which determined my course at the time, cannot be known abroad, and I have sometimes regretted on this account that I did not say a few words. On the other hand, some friends have been glad that I was silent.

But I have some supplementary remonstrances from the clergy, which I shall present without apology. I have had them in my desk some

days: but was unwilling to present them when Butler and Douglas were absent. I wish to give them another chance. Indeed I have given notice to Butler & Mason that I shall present them. If you find any Cotton in my course or language that condemns me.

I already have the "Tribute for the Negro" which you kindly sent me, also Fletcher's abolition.

Ever yours

Charles Sumner

Senate Chamber

3d April 1854

My dear Parker

I have your letter and lost no time in seeing Dr Bailey. He did not appreciate the criticism you made. My interview with him was not satisfactory. He said that his object was to expose the Richmond paper and not you.

In secret session! — "Rogues all! rogues all!"

The Nebraska wickedness is only a part. Expect worse yet

Ever yrs

Charles Sumner

Sumner

Washington 7th June 1854.

My dear Parker,

I had just read and admired your great New York effort, as reported in the Anti-Slavery Standard, when the Commonwealth came this morning with that other fulmination from Boston. Such efforts will deeply plough the public heart. Other ages will bless you, even if we do not all live down the clamor which now beats us.

At last I see daylight. Slavery will be discussed with us as never before, and that Fugitive Bill must be nullified in the house. Peaceful legislation by our Commonwealth will do it all.

At once should be commenced an organization to secure petitions. (1) to Congress. (2) to our own Legislature. Get people committed at once to the absolute refusal of the whole wickedness.

Income from Boston —— is sackcloth and ashes. Alas! for the poor Commissioner. I think now of my own words in the Senate — "Better be the Slave returned to bondage, than the unhappy Commissioner."

The curtain will soon lift up here — Cuba — Hayti — Mexico. You know the plot. And yet the people sleep. The Spanish plot does not work well. It is difficult to bring the machinery to bear. Ever yrs

Charles Sumner

Senate Chamber –
12th June 1854.

My dear Parker

Let the dementia work, even to the indictment of yourself and Phillips. Good will come of it.

The great petition for repeal of Fugitive Slave Bill ought to be presented in the Senate, where its character and history can be recorded, and a debate upon it provoked. In the house it must be presented under the rule, without opportunity for even a word.

Bear these things in mind: but <u>without mentioning my name</u>. To present it would be a grateful service for me: but I would not seek the opportunity. I should follow it <u>at once</u> by notice of a Bill to repeal the Fugitive Slave Bill. My first impression was to give this notice to day: but I have concluded to wait the movement of the Boston petitioners, and to put myself in the position of carrying out their desires.

I am glad you liked those few words of mine. I had intended to make an elaborate speech of a different kind, but the determination to close the debate that that night induced me to change my purpose.

The rulers of the country are the President, with Cushing, Davis and Toucey. Nobody else has influence. These are hot for Cuba and war.

The howl of the press here against me has been the best homage I ever received! My opposition to all that iniquity is not merely by speech, but in every available way, and they know it.

Ever yours
Charles Sumner.

P. S. The threats to put a bullet through my head — and hang me — and not me — have been frequent. I have always said: "let them come: they will find me at my post."

Senate Chamber
13th June 1854

My dear Parker,

The review containing the article to which you refer, I have not. I think that I sent it to the Commonwealth. But it did not compare in atrocity with previous articles in the Union and Rec on me — in most of which you and Phillips also are introduced.

Here in Washington I am attacked as chief firebrand, associate and even leader of Phillips and Parker. In Boston I am arraigned by Phillips himself for short-comings. Each man has his own way. Mine has been pursued with pure consistency for a longer time than even Phillips has been in the warfare with slavery.

The war plots of the administration are not succeeding. The Beach Morgan case is nearly settled. Nothing remains but the charge of Africanization and here the evidence is strong. That Spain has no such purpose, except in self-defence. What can the 3 Brigadiers who now rule the land, do?

Ever yrs
Charles Sumner.

Washington
12th Dec 1854

My dear Parker,

I am glad you have been indicted — pardon me — for the sake of our cause, and for your own fame. Of course you will defend yourself, and answer the Athlone speaker at Faneuil Hall face to face. Dont fail to recount that incident in your speech, while you will naturally review Boston tyranny: not only in courts, but also abroad at public meetings and in the world.

I can tell you nothing of history. You know well Campbells Chancellors and Chief Justices. In reviewing these you will meet the great instances, and will discern the base character of judges. A sad list!

The cases of Scroggs and Jeffries have a bare-faced outrageousness which makes them less applicable than the case of Ship-money — the case of

Sumner

Sir Edward Hill in 1687 — the trial of Horne Tooke in 1796 — and at a later day the trials which killed Lord Ellenborough. Do not fail to master his life and character. Therein you will find more which will be in point than in earlier cases. His life is not included in Campbell's collection. You will find it in one of the Volumes of the London Law Magazine — (in the Suffolk Law Library.) I believe it has been reprinted in a collection of lives of judges.

Look through Howell's State Trials — a vastly interesting repository.

Upon the whole I regard your indictment as a "call" to a new parish: with B. R. Curtis and B. F. Hallett as "deacons", and a pulpit higher than the Strasburgh Steeple.

Ever yours
Charles Sumner.

P. S. The Burns money was paid by virtue of that clause attached to the Appropriation Bill of 1852, to which I fastened my motion to repeal the Fugitive Bill. Look at the beginning of my speech and you will see how it was done.

Senate Chamber 9th Jany 1855

Dear Parker

I have not been able to consult books on the points to which you call my attention. I can

answer only by giving impressions rather than opinions

The oath of the Grand Juror binds to secrecy; but it seems to me that you must refer to the statutes and common law in order to find the precise character of this obligation. There you will learn whether it is applicable to the severe cases which you propose. To some of them it seems to me that it cannot be applicable. Besides fraud or corruption may always be exposed; nor can any oath stop the exposure. Under this head it seems to me might come an appeal to motives clearly inconsistent with the upright discharge of duty.

I am sorry that I cannot answer you more definitely. I spoke with Chase on the subject, who agrees substantially with me: but would not give a positive opinion without study.

Of course, you must speak for yourself before Pontius Pilate. I think you should make the closing speech, and review the whole movement in Boston which culminated in your indictment, and arraign its intent and action — of course touching upon the Courts. The opening counsel might argue the Constitutionality of the Act. Though I hesitate to give the judges another opportunity to drive a nail into our coffin. Wherever you have to speak at any stage should be able to do something historical; for the time will belong to history — God send you a good

deliverance!

Ever yrs
Charles Sumner

P. S. I read an admirable summary in the Tribune of the Curtis movement. There was one statement that gave me a momentary twinge. It is that Curtis convened a meeting of the Commissioners to consider what should be done in Slave-cases. I believe this is true; but I was never bidden to that feast. Had I been I should have gone, and without hesitation, denounced the Act at the time. I longed to do this officially — from the tripod of the court. As my name was on the list of Commissioners, it might be supposed that I had participated in that conference, or at least had allowed it to proceed without any expression of dissent: a position which I should be pained to occupy.

Senate Chamber
14th Feb'y 1855.

Dear Parker.

I need not bring back with me the life of Shakespeare: for I have received at Boston from London the 2nd Edition of the work — and it is much at your service. I will look after the life of Home Tooke.

I fear that you and Phillips will never be tried. Your recent studies must have enlightened even your own courts. In all ages and countries they have been the great instruments of prevailing error and wrong.

I note what appears in the Advertiser, which I take now.

Ever yrs
C. S.

see 327 page for letter Dec 1855

Confidential

Washington 9th Jan'y 1856

Dear Parker.

Unjust judges may at least be frightened, — if not condemned. If I were not a Senator, I would organize petitions to the House for the impeachment of all who have trespassed against Liberty — from Wisconsin to Massachusetts. Think of this. Verbum sat.

The presentation of the petitions would remind those

judges that a power was growing in the country which would yet summon them to justice.
What are the chances of the Personal Liberty Law? I had hoped to challenge a discussion of that here in reply to any allusion to Massachusetts: but Gardner's Message is the beginning of an embarrassing "fire in the rear", which compels me to alter my tactics.

Ever yrs
Charles Sumner.

Confidential

Washington 20th Jan'y 1856

Dear Parker,

10. 15. and 20 years ago, when the Anti-Slavery sentiment was feeble, petitions were organized into a battering-ram under which Congress itself reeled. Now when we are powerful, nothing is done. This is wrong.
There is a judge in Wisconsin who ought to be made to shake. If you give Booth a hint, he will do the rest.
A few petitions setting forth what these judges have done and said will teach them their accountability. I am astonished that you do not feel its importance.
The House is at a dead-lock. The Slave Oligarchy now says, "anybody but Banks". If the

Republicans would seriously unite on another man the enemy would allow the Plurality vote, and a consequent election: but this would give victory to (1) The Slave Oligarchy. (2) The petty squad of Dissentients. and (3) the American Organization in contra-distinction to the Republican. My counsel has been to stick to Banks, and leave the future to take care of itself. Among possibilities — probabilities — is that the House will not be organized. Inter nos Giddings thinks it never will be organized. You see the consequences!

Meanwhile the Administration will try a war with England. Forney said yesterday to one of our men, as a reason for organization, that we "are on the eve of war."

Ever yrs
C. S.

Senate Chamber
25th Feb. 1856

Dear Parker.

I am glad of the Petitions. It is curious how the circle is complete. I prompted you, and now the Chairman of the Judiciary in the House, comes to consult me confidentially on points of law involved in them.

Weeks ago I brought forward the Library proposition.

and it is now before the Committee on Military Affairs. I think Buchanan stands the best chance for the Democratic nomination. Nobody can predict our Republican nomination. The pettiness of personal ambition may interfere with our plans. I am disgusted particularly with Know Nothings.

Alas! for poor Massachusetts! Had Julius Rockwell been elected governor, the Know Nothings then would have been scattered, and the whole obscene brood all over the country would have felt the defeat, and Kansas might have been saved. It is not too much to say, that in our defeat last autumn, was involved all these late processes, and our present solicitude for the future. The Advertiser, which helped defeat Rockwell, has struck a blow at Kansas, which all its plausible writing cannot cure.

Wilson has earned his Senatorship. He has struck a hard blow, and made them all very angry — almost as much as with me: not quite. It was the great event of his life. Circumstances cast upon him the office of answering Yancey, and he did it with effect. We shall all follow. The debate has begun, and you will hear nothing but Kansas from this time forever — There ought to be public meetings, resolutions and petitions.

Ever yrs
C. S

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Sumner

Washington — Sunday
March 2d 1856

Dear Parker.

I note all the Fillmore cords which you indicate: but my instincts tell me that they will all fail, and snap like tow.
Hunter is an aspirant with chances. Pierce still expects the nomination. My own impression is, that Buchanan will have it. But the Democrats will be governed by availability. I ought to say that Douglass is now in the lists.
Wilson has righted himself grandly. His speech under the circumstances, was most effective and important, and made them open their eyes. It reads too.

Of course we are all to try our hands at the question: so that Kansas will ring in your ears from this time forward.
But why are there no public meetings and memorials such as acted on Congress in the Nebraska debate.

Ever yrs
C. S.

P. S. Thanks for the book which has not yet reached me.

C. S

Sumner

Senate Chamber
24th March 1856

My dear Parker, Mark W. Delahay

Col. Delahay member of Congress elect from the State of Kansas, will hand you this letter. You will welcome him.

Ever yours
Charles Sumner.

Senate Chamber
26th March 1856

My dear Parker

I am full of hope now. The committee is the thing to catch the conscience of the King.

I am glad you are to open on Kansas. Let me suggest to press the admission of Kansas at once with her present constitution. This is the policy we have adopted, and it will crowd Douglas and Cass infinitely. This proposition is something practical: and on this we must fight the Presidential election.

Let public meetings and petitions now call at once for the admission of Kansas as a State. Cannot our Legislature be induced to pass resolutions making this demand.

Seward will make a grand speech. I shall follow as soon as possible, and use plain words. Oh!

this enormity is not really understood! The more I think of it the more its wickedness glares.

Ever yours
Charles Sumner

Revd Theodore Parker.

Senate Chamber
1st May 1856

Dear Parker.

I have read and admired your speech in the Post. It is a whole sheaf of Spears v.s. Slavery. Alas! alas! the Tyranny over us is complete. Will the people submit? When you read this, I shall be saying - in - and the Senate - they will not. Would that I had your strength. But I shall pronounce the most thorough Philippic ever uttered in a legislative body.

Ever yours
Charles Sumner.

Sumner G.

Newport R. I
20. August 1856

Dear Sir,

Pardon the delay in answering your letter of kind inquiry.
My brother is at Cresson (on Pittsburg Rail Road) with Dr Jackson who resides there — His last letters show that his health is improving: he being strong enough to ride, and having only that nervous prostration, which is the usual consequence of disease and confinement. His mind has at no time been affected, not even during the 3 or 4 critical days of fever, and there is nothing now, which time and care will not put right.
I remained with him for five weeks, and should have returned before this, but that he declares himself perfectly well, and having all he wants. I am certain he would be very glad to see you: though sorry to have you take so long a journey. — If you go beyond N. York, you had better inquire of Mr Furness in Philadelphia, for the latest news.

Believe me,
My dear Sir, truly yours
George Sumner.

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Sumner

Private.

Cresson – Alleghany Mountains
Penn. 28th Augt 1856

My dear Parker.

Dr Jackson tells me he has written summoning you to the mountains. I expressed regret: because I know the constancy of your engagements, and I would not have you neglect any for me. Besides I am now so far myself again, as to be beyond charity. Were you in the neighborhood, I should count upon a visit: but I would not draw you all the way from home and books.

I had determined to leave last Monday – setting my face Eastward: but the good Fairness, who has attended me as my body guard, pleaded so earnestly, and the Doctor was so peremptory, that I slunk back into my retreat. At length I am comfortable. My system is recovering itself. I ride on horseback and take a deal of exercise: but I feel a short walk and any mental exercise on my brain. This must not be. The object now is, to banish those tendencies, that they may not be chronic and bring the body back to its normal condition.

All this has been hard to bear. I have longed from that seat to make one speech at least this session. For this opportunity, I would have

Summer

bartered a good slice of the life that remains.

When we meet there will be many things to talk about. Surely we are on the eve of great events.

Ever sincerely yours
Charles Sumner.

Philadelphia 5th Oct 1856
at Mr Furness'

My dear Parker

Mr Furness tells me you ask for references with regard to Franklin's moral character. There are unpleasant traditions here in Philadelphia, of which the strongest expression, according to my recollections, will be found in Doctor Julius's Sittliche Zustände of the United States. His course at Versailles is mentioned there. I remember some years ago, when Bancroft was engaged on the character of Franklin for his history, calling his attention to this impeachment, which was entirely new to him. — Of course you remember Mr Norton's early article.

I am glad that you have Franklin in hand. He was so great a man, one sighs that he was not a little greater. With a little of Channing he would have been a divinity.

I am now past all solicitude for my health.

though still constrained to narrow limits of exertion. My physician, who has only lately revealed to me his daily anxieties, says that I shall be "thoroughly comfortable" by November, and able to work (or speak) by December: but that any premature exertion may disqualify me for an indefinite time — probably all winter. Had the mountains failed, he would have shipped me to Europe, there to await the slow influence of years.

I have not yet brought myself to renounce all speaking during this contest. I long for the field. Never before was a word from me so potential as now: and yet I am constrained to inaction. Is not this very hard? —

Ever thine

C. S.

Most cheerfully would I confront simple death now for the cause, by coming forward to speak, could I summon sufficient force sufficient: and were the possible penalty only death.

Philadelphia 30th Oct 1856

See Cobbett's Peter Porcupine — a terrible article on Franklin just after his death.

C. S.

I am coming home to vote. My Doctor says "No":

Sumner

but I shall come. My brain is still sadly jarred and my nervous system jangled.

Ever yrs
C. S.

Cambridge 5th November 1856
day of Gunpowder Plot! —
at Longfellow's —

Dear Parker,

My Doctor has sent me here for some repose. I am doing well, and am now about where I was when I left Philadelphia. It is nearly six months since I had society of any kind, except that of a family — never taking a meal out of the house except once when in Philadelphia, I went to dine with the daughter of Isaac T. Hopper. I mention this as my excuse for not responding now, to your invitation to dine with you. Whenever I am competent to any such indulgence I shall claim it of you — Meanwhile I need but one prescription — repose. Howe will explain this: for he understands my case. His advice and also that of my physician against my coming home was founded in science and the purest benevolence, and Dr Perry tells me now, that had he known fully my condition, he would not have sanctioned my return. But I could not bear the thought of doubt in Burlingame's case, and I determined to take the risk. I am happy

that I did so.
I long to see you, and the first day that I am at home, I shall send for you. After a fortnight I hope to discuss important questions with you. At present I banish them from my mind

Ever yours
Charles Sumner.

Novr 14th 1856
Cambridge — Friday.

My dear Parker,

The last 3 or 4 days have done well for me. At some times I feel sure that I am about to be restored: but before long I am admonished sensibly in brain, shoulders and back. "Thou art an invalid".
I shall return to town Monday — probably afternoon, and shall be too happy if I can see you at any time after dark.

Ever yrs
C. S.

I say after dark, because I shall surely get home by that time, and the sooner I see you the better.

Hancock Street.
Monday Nov 7th 1853

Dear Parker.

If you do not come to see me, I shall be obliged to seek you.
I am on horseback in the forenoon; and on my bed in the afternoon and evening, when I should enjoy a talk with you — the sooner the better — say tuesday

Ever yrs
Charles Sumner.

Washington 19th Dec 1853.

Dear Parker,

I am unhappy! — I cannot work: and yesterday, after sitting in the Senate, I felt like a man of 60. What will this end? Otherwise I am very well —

Ever yrs
C. S.

Washington — 1st March 1857

My dear Parker,

I have sat in my seat only on one day. After a short time the torment to my system became great, and the cloud began to gather over my brain. I tottered out and took to my bed. I long to speak: but I cannot. Sorrowfully I resign myself to my condition.

Before I left home Howe insisted that I must abandon all thought of speaking — under pain of paralysis: and Dr Perry urged that I should in all probability have a congestion of the brain, if I made the attempt. Had I an internal consciousness of strength, I might brave these professional menaces — but my own daily experience, while it satisfies me of my improvement, shows the subtle and complete overthrow of my powers organically, from which I can hope to recover only most slowly — per intervallar ac spiramenta temporis.

What I can say must stand adjourned to another day. Nobody can regret this so much as myself, and my unhappiness will be increased if I have not your sympathy in this delay.

I may die: but if I live a word shall be spoken in the Senate, which shall tear Slavery open from its chops to its heel — from its bully chops down to its coward heel. Till then — patience

Ever yours
Charles Sumner.

New York at Mr Jay's
6th March 1857

My dear Parker,

I fear that you are too harsh upon Wilson: and I fear that you and others will

Sumner

help undermine him, by furnishing arguments to the Lutherans and to Stanley. Bear this in mind and be gentle.

My address is for two months, care of J. Munroe & Co Paris and afterwards, care of Baring Brothers, London, who will forward anything to me wherever I may be. Those are my two pistols.

Let me know how things move

Ever yrs
C. S.

P. S. I wish that I could make Howe happy.

Spring of 1858 probably.

Sunday.

Dear F.

So far as I am concerned this is all wrong.

I have not been consulted on the question and have never given any opinion. Besides I did not reach home till the end of November, and had no communication of any kind with Kansas people till I preached Washington on 1st December

Ever yours
C. S.

Senate Chamber
1st March 1858?

Dear Parker,

Nelson did not dodge. He was by accident most unfortunately out of his seat: but there was no dodge.
My last Midnight speech, I believe, will come up to your mark in denunciation of Slave-hunters in every form. It will be printed to day.

Ever yrs
Charles Sumner

New York – Prescott Hotel
5th March 1858

Dear Parker,

Your speech is beautiful, exhaustive, forcible, great; but why did you have that tail piece — desinit in piscem.
What is doing in Mass? Is every body asleep? No resolutions, v.s. Secompton! No persistent daily pushing of the requisition for the discharge of Loring! No inquiry why Massachusetts money and hospitality went to welcome a Slave Hunter last Sunday Week! Where is Andrew? There is a chance for him. Let him expose all these.
I range daily in the alcoves of Astor more charming than the gardens of Boccaccio, and each hour a

Decameron. Thus I try for comfort in my enforced quietude. But my time is fast coming. I am almost at the end. Surely — surely.

Ever yrs
Charles Sumner

Philadelphia at Mr Furness'
22d March 1858?

Dear Parker,

I have great joy in the removal of the Slave-Hunter. This is much.

But I deplore the recommendations of the Governor especially those which propose to allow Massachusetts justices of the peace, and attorneys of law, to hunt slaves. Shades of Adams and Quincy!

How strangely the Governor confuses duties! Every Criminal, even a Slave-Hunter when his life or liberty are in jeopardy, should have counsel. This is just. But no Slave-Hunter or other criminal should have official assistance in carrying out his crime.

To hunt Slaves is a crime.

I leave to day for Washington.

Thanks for your letter

Ever yrs
C. S.

Brevoort House New York
31st March 1858

Dear Parker.

I sorrow much over Massachusetts. I have been made uneasy and restless. A Republican Governor has taken advantage of his position to strike with a bludgeon the best safeguards of Freedom erected in Massachusetts. Of all the clauses, that which prohibited a Constable or Attorney from giving official aid to a Slave-Hunter was the simplest and best, while it is clearly free from all constitutional criticism. How could he do it?

Gardner never succeeded in doing anything half so bad.

I hope that the people will insist upon the restoration of that Prohibition. It should be made a point at the coming election.

The argument in its favor is irresistible — unless a man is ready to vindicate Slave-Hunting.

I was glad to have your letter, which told so plainly what might have been done.

Why did not Andrew save that law?

Ever yrs
Charles Sumner.

Washington
14th April 1858

My dear Parker,

What an engineer of broadsides! Your least is a broadside!
I have read No 2 on Revivals with quick pulses, and thanks for the seasonable word.
I have been quite disabled for several days — hardly able to walk — which makes me most unhappy, for it tells me that I am still an invalid.

I have missed the hope of health, so that I might make at least one speech before the session closed. But I fear that the English Doctors were right, and that I must let every thing slide till next year. Hard — Very hard. Sometimes I wish that death would come and close the whole case.
Our friends here want — I will not say sternness — but earnestness. They must make the other side feel that they are in earnest, and cannot be trifled with. But what effect have Anti-Slavery speeches followed by free and cordial hand-shakes, smiles and hob-nobbings with the Criminals. I am V.S. this explosion

Ever yrs
Charles Sumner.

P.S. What means Colloquium Septa plomeron — the title of the MS. of old Books, qui semble

donner la préference parmi les religions au Deimod — as a French writer says.
I cannot translate Hepterptomeron.

Philadelphia at Mr Furness'
28th April 1858

Dear Parker,

I am cheered by your letter which came this morning — As I sit in my chair or recline on a couch I am comfortable: but at each step I am in pain, and feel bereft of strength. Perhaps this will pass over. It was such an attack that I had in Paris just a year ago — precisely. But this shows the morbid condition of my system. How I envy people that I see in the street stepping off with alacrity.

Banks' course pains me. There is much in him to like. But he is a politician; and against Slavery only qua politician. Could you not talk with him? I can think of nothing better.

Oh! I wish I could breathe into every public servant, whether at Washington or in Massachusetts something of my own hatred of Slavery and of my own gulf-wide separation from its supporters. I do not believe in friendly courtesies with men engaged in murdering my colleague!

What grandeur of news seems to impend from Spain

Sumner

If she is not frightened so as to back down. Emancipation in Cuba will be the greatest event for this Continent since the Declaration of Independence. Several things lend to it. (1) The desire to keep Cuba in peace, without vexation from our Republic whether filibustering or in war. (2) The urgency of England. (3) The concurring sentiment of the European World, as shown in all acts of Emancipation by England, France, Sweden, Denmark and Holland. (4) and most important perhaps now, the example of Russia, and the modern stroke of the Emperor for Pan-Slavism and Harmony.
That telegram to the Nord (the Russians paper at Brussels) probably came from the Russian embassy—so I like to think. Inter nos. I never forgot this point while I was abroad.

Ever yrs
C. S.

P. S. Nobody at Washington on our side seemed to feel the importance of this news. Even Seward was frigid and my colleague more so. The South canvassed at once: so did the Cabinet.

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Sumner

Philadelphia 6th May 1858

Dear Parker,

Have you seen Mr Everett's defence, verbis? Gea-don, against the imputation of sympathy with me. Read it, and see how Park Street spreads in it.

I have been for several days slowly getting better; but am still feeble — comfortable only when stretched in repose. — Meanwhile opportunity comes and departs, and I lie inactive. This calamity is very great, and I know not where it will end. Clearly do I see now that nothing but what Combe? called "the marvellous recuperative energies of my constitution", could have carried me to this stage.

Think of the manner in which Slavery and its baseness are projected into Boston: as ecce this late defence. I do long to expose the whole tribe.

Ever yrs
Charles Sumner.

Washington 12th May 1858

My dear Parker,

I write without consulting books, but refer you at once to.

Lieber's Hermeneutics — Puffendorf: Law of Nations — a chapter — Story's Constitution, a chapter — Ram? + Science of Legal Judgement —

Sumner

Lord Bacon's maxims — to be found in the edition of his works —
The works on Contracts — (Story — Parsons) — a chapter. Works on Crimes — 1 chapter on Penal Laws, — construed strictly.
My Speech. Freedom National. Slavery Sectional — pp. 88 — 93. in 3d vol of Speeches.
But you know these things as well as I.
Again I am comfortable. But how long it will last I know not: never can I feel safe until I extirpate this sense of invalidism which haunts me constantly.
Meanwhile my colleague entrenches one of the accessories after the fact.
You must read the article in the Post if you would know the extent of Everett's humiliation.

Ever yrs
C. S.

All seem to send me to Europe again. I had hoped to pass the summer and autumn here. But how here can I get away from the public and from myself? Each day I must answer inquiries, and keep the "raw" open. But what to do in Europe? —
A long journey, with fatigue and open air, through Russia or Spain? — A quiet life in Switzerland? A water cure in Germany? The baths in the Pyrenees which Montaigne

enjoyed so much, with snow-capped mountains in sight, and which are said to be good for systems shattered from wounds.

Ever yrs
C. S.

Confidential

New York – at Mr Jay's
22d May 1858.

My dear Parker,

My soul yearns for Howe! I wish that I could do something to make him happier. Pray soothe and cheer him constantly – partly on my account – as well as your own.
I go to Europe now without the buoyancy of youth, which I had on my first voyage — without the assured hope which I had last Spring, for I was then confidant of a speedy restoration. I do not know where to go. Therefore — I am not happy.
But all authorities concur in counsel, and I so long for health, that I take the course which seems to promise it soonest. I am sure that I shall be well at last: but I am not sure that I shall be well in six months. The gradations of a cerebral convalescence are infinitesimal.
This at least I have learned.

Sumner

I long to be able to speak and work! and whenever I visit Washington, I feel this longing more than before. My position there is solitary quite. All fraternize with my assassins. My own colleague has eulogized one who was an accomplice after the fact: and one of the representatives in the other House has invited Mr Keitt to visit him on Plymouth Rock.

You must do something this summer to inject into our representatives a spirit which shall make them scorn fraternity with bludgeon-bearers, and the apologists of brutality. This can be done.

When I am well, my example shall carry forward your work.

Think also of the School-books! That old School-master of Vcii, who surrendered his children to the enemy, is the type of those who make our modern expunged books, where no generous word for Freedom lives.

God bless you!

Ever yrs
Charles Sumner.

E L P
read to here

Paris 27th June 1858

My dear Parker,

I have read the first half of your masterly speech and long for the last. I got it through Madame Gaskell nee Chapman who has a husband, comme il y en a peu.

You have read every thing and probably Lettres Familieres écrites d'Italie à quelques amis en 1739 and 1740 par Charles de Brosses. This book has been lately revived and is now much in vogue. The author was homme du monde — flaneur — savant — anti quaire — homme de gout, and all those characters are reflected in his most clear and instructive pages — reminding you sometimes of Selden and Winckelmann and then of Suckling and Grammont. In exhibiting the manners of the time — the usages of Society — and especially the character of the Papal Court, with the manner of conducting a conclave for the election of a Pope. I know nothing which can supply its place. But my special object was to call your attention to a passage in Lettre LI — (Vol. II — 274 — edition 1858) where a remark is made about the Cardinals which has its application to this country.

— car il n'y a presque point de cardinal qui n'espère parvenir à dam tour et qui ne soit possédé de la maladie qu'on appelle ici la rabbia

papale.

So you will find here the prototype of our presidential fever

My medical treatment here is very severe and painful. Six times fire has been applied to my neck and spine, leaving me with a cross of blisters, smarts and inflamations, shorting out like sparrow-grass. Without this the Doctor says I should have been a permanent invalid, always subject to a sudden and most serious relapse. Reste à vous, if this will make me well. In my solitary days and sleepless nights, I have ample time to meditate on the brutality of Slavery, and the heartlessness of men. Oh! the baseness with which I have been dogged from the beginning! Pardon.

Ever yrs,
Charles Sumner.
Care of Messrs Baring & Co London

P. S. On my voyage, I read your review of Buckle most able and clear.

Paris – 24th Novr 1858

My dear Parker,

I am pained to learn that you are not well: but I trust soon to hear that your malady has passed, leaving no serious

disturbance in your system.
There is much work for you to do on earth. Pray
get well. — I wish that I could announce
my own disease as exterminated. Learned
Doctors after consultation — Trousseau the 1st
practitioner of Paris — Brown Sequard and
our Hayward — all say that I shall be a
well man again: but they enjoin upon me
not to return to my public duties: I fear they
are right. At least for the present, I submit to
their judgment, and tomorrow start for Mont-
pelier in the South of France, where I shall
devote myself rigorously to my health, and a
system of medical treatment which has been or-
dained — capsules de tebenthine — pilules de
belle donne — and ventouses sèches (dry cupping)
the whole length of the Spine: this last instead
of fire — This decree is hard for me. I had
hoped to be in my seat this winter. Indeed I
do not yet despair. For the present, however
the vacant chair must continue its speech.
Louis Napoleon still stands firm, and I see
no limit to his detestable power except with his
life: for he will not hesitate to employ the need-
ful military force in repressing the people. But
there is a beginning of hope that Austria may
drawn out of Italy. A la bonne heure! God
bless you! Ever sincerely yours
Charles Sumner.

Sumner

Montpellier — France
11th January 1859

My dear Parker,

Among the acquaintances I have made here is a protestant clergyman, who lives about 30 miles from Montpellier. I like him much. He seems to be of rare merit, and is much regarded by the men of science here. He speaks French, English and German. His parish is composed of 2000 peasants, all comfortable but none rich. Of course he takes a strong interest in our great question, and knows you well in your writings. Let me say in one word that he is a person that I am sure you will be glad to serve: and let me tell you how you can do it.

He desires much to know the exact position of the Methodist Church in our country on the subject of Slavery, and if possible to have the pieces showing its short-coming. He was much struck when I told him there was a Methodist Church — North — and South — If he can have the proper evidence he will be glad to prepare an article for one of the protestant journals on this subject. He does not doubt that he can push the Wesleyans of France to make an appeal to the Wesleyans of America — But beyond this he did not

conceal from me another purpose. It seems that there are Wesleyans in his Parish who take airs upon themselves and give their pastor some trouble intimating that he is not Christian enough. We wishes to let these ill-conditioned persons know what their Wesleyan brethren sustain in America. I think you will at once appreciate his position.

Quæ cum ita sint ____ I venture to ask you to procure the pieces justificatives to which I refer, and send them to his address. I do not pay to mine — because my movements are uncertain. His address is — Monsieur Théodore Abauzit, Pasteur — à Calvisson (Gard) France. You will see that he is in the department which takes its name from the famous Pont du Gard. Perhaps the name will strike you. He is a descendant of that Abauzit who was selected as an arbiter between Newton and Leibnitz, and that clergyman of Geneva praised by Jean Jaques in a note to the Nouvelle Héloise.

I see a good deal of Professor Martins, the head of the Botanic Garden, whose conversation always interests me. He is a friend of Agassiz and also of Desor. He tells me that the latter is now a man of fortune with 50.000 francs a year. It seems that his brother married the richest heiress of Neuchâtel and her property has come to Desor by the suc-

cessive deaths of wife and husband — The feud between the two philosophers is much deplored here. People here never tire of expressing their astonishment that a republic can continue to sustain Slavery. They tell me that this anomaly makes it impossible now for the liberals of Europe to cite our example — I trust this letter will find you well again. Ah! well again! what happiness! But my time is coming. I am sure. Good bye!

Ever yrs
C. S.

I long for good news of Howe. I wish I could do something for him.

Paris
Hotel de la Paix
32 Rue de la Paix
5th June 1859

My dear brother invalid: but I am hardly willing to bring myself still under the epithet. I must however — I fear for yet a little longer. From yours written at Santa Cruz — received by me in Rome I learned that you would sail on the 17th — and supposed you would not reach London before next week, — that is the week beginning to day — and my letter would be in ample season — You do

not tell one enough of yourself — "at least no more you say". That is much. Pray be wise in your doings and movements, and do not spare any thing by which you may become better. My days without hope seem to be passed, I wish I could give you out of this punishment.

Here in Paris where I have suffered so much, where I never took a step without an ache, a strain, or a smart. I have a palpable measure of my improvement, in the natural and spontaneous manner of my walk, and rising from a chair: but though such a rugged look of health, the spinal irritation is not yet all gone. It shows itself on the least fatigue. Various treatments by me — medicines — douches hot and cold — dry cupping every morning from November to March — withdrawal from home cares and high pressure of life — lapse of time — 3 years passed as an invalid — and especially the systematic seclusion in a provincial town all this winter — and the wonderful recuperative power of my constitution — these have been the great agents of my cure.

I am so sensitive to fatigue, and regard it as so capital a point in my case to avoid it, that I prefer to be stationary rather than to travel. Part of this season I shall pass at some bathing establishment — probably on the sea-shore; but I think first of a short visit to London.

Sumner

What are your plans? Of course you will come to Paris. We must meet. There are many things to discuss — particularly this War. I am fresh from Italy. You know how diplomatically I discard War from International controversy, and every where else insist upon Peace. But of this I am sure: if our Slaves would be justified in striking for Freedom: if our Fathers were right in warring for Independence, then are the Italians right in driving out the Stranger whose track is one of the most cruel in history. Of the intervention of France. I say nothing. That is a long question.

I do not believe that in Italy l'antico valore è morto — I have faith in its future and in its people. By the way, the lower classes have the vices and the qualities of our poor slaves. With its great history, and its present aspirations I believe it can right itself. The hour is striking.

At Turin I saw the other day M. de Cavour and many people, ladies too, all full of brave courage and hope, and happy that at last they were to meet the oppressor face to face. They were of old Roman stuff.

Of course this movement opens wide the gates of the Future — closed solemnly by dynastic conventions in 1815. Since then no events of equal importance have occurred — Pray think of these

things, and tell me when and where we can meet in Paris within 10 days? or in London—?

Observing things in Europe, I am pained to the quick to find that my country is more nothing. Nobody can cite the great Republic as an argument for Freedom. Non ragionem de lor—!—

I hear that Desor was in Paris only a few days before I reached here— Nothing from Howe: but I trust the Persia which brings Lyman, will not forget letters.

In London I can make no suggestions to you After Westminster Abbey, the new Reading-Room of the British Museum seemed to me the finest thing. It is the consummate flower or rose-garden of libraries, where no scent or color or form is absent. Then there are the Marbles: but why speak of these things?

But Paris is beautiful. Come and see.

Remember me to your ladies. Tell them from me to take good care of you, and give them my thanks for what they have already done—

To Lyman also love

Ever yrs
Charles Sumner

Sumner

Paris — Hotel and Rue de la Paix
9th June 1859

My dear Parker,

Pleasant is the voice or the writing of a friend. But I wish you assured me of your convalescence.

I think you are right in not coming to my Hotel. I should not have returned here — except that I have something of the domesticity of a cat and naturally crawled back to a familiar place where I know the house and servants. For you there are —

(1) the Hotel Meurice — in the rue Rivoli — much resorted to by English and Americans of all pockets — with rooms, large and small — front and back. (2) Hotel Wagram — also on the rue Rivoli — 208 — with rooms front and back. This week I visited Bolleau, formerly Secretary of French Legation at Wagram who married Miss Benton, in a modest small apartment at the back of the house. (3) Hotel de Londres — 8 rue St Hyacinthe, St Honoré près l'Eglise St Roche This is a small and very retired Hotel, but as you will see, very central — within a short beat of the garden of the Tuileries, where last year, I visited Mr and Mrs Downing. I should have gone there myself this year, but for the relations established with the House, where

I am. On getting your letter I went to this Hotel, to know if next week there would be rooms for a family of 3, 4, or 5. Yes — was the rather eager reply — à des prix très — modérés I did not go into the question of price, because you know that depends upon the situation of the room. —— This is the best programme I see for the present. Perhaps it is enough. Choose, and (1) — write at once to the Hotel announcing your coming: or (2). write to me and I will call and inspect rooms gladly. or (3) without writing drive at once to the Hotel you select.

Of course I say nothing about the mob - Hotel de Louvre. I take it you do not wish to live in a perpetual town - meeting.

I learn that poor Dr Parkes will reach Paris 12th June — "a miserable invalid". We can hold a college — très facilement. but I hope by and by to vacate my seat — I begin to doubt if I shall visit London. My first desire is health, and I believe bathing on the sea-shore will be best for me.

Don't sacrifice Italy to your theory of effete nationalities. First the theory must be explained and limited before I can accept it. Secondly I deny its application to the Magna Parens

Best regards to you and flock

Ever yrs

Charles Sumner

P. S. I hear nothing of Seward or his plans, and did not learn till within a few days that he was in Europe.

Bains Frascati.
près du Havre
4 August 1859

My dear Parker.

I vote with Conway and Clarke against Garnett and Osgood; but I do not believe the ways of Providence will be assisted by killing that resolution. This adds another to the many reasons for getting well. You must get well.

And pray how are you now? Since our parting at the Station, I have had no hint of your health or whereabouts except <u>via</u> an American paper. I imagine you quiet and snug away from bustle and stir — perhaps renewing acquaintance with some old story, or beginning something new — if to you anything is new — among friends I hope — with a small familiar society about you — with good meat and fruit to eat, and a good red wine to drink. At least I hope that all this is yours and that if not daily at least weekly you find

yourself growing stronger and stronger and gradually driving back the insidious enemy. Tell me that this is so.

After leaving you. I lingered 2 or 3 days in Paris solitary, and musing much on our intercourse. Suddenly I left for Dieppe and sea-bathing, but I soon found that this was no place for me. There was water enough, but nothing else. So I took the boat for England and threw myself into London. There for three weeks I enjoyed its best society at breakfast and dinner until I was satisfied that it was not the best place to complete my convalescence. So I came here and I am happier in this seclusion than in all that Society. I have here my daily sea-bath and swim (think of my being able to swim — only a short time ago this would have been impossible) — access to the circle where are the papers and also to a Bibliotheque of 30.000 vols. Here I have been for 10 days, and shall remain a month longer, when I trust to bid Good bye to the prescriptions of physicians.

Meanwhile what sudden changes in the attitude of European states. The peace of Villafranca is as treacherous and clever as its author, for I feel disposed at least to concede to him cleverness. But as time passes it promises to be more and more advantageous to Italy. Several things seem accomplished. (1) Lombardy rescued from Austria. (2) The Duchies

Parma – Modena – and Tuscany – all taken from their old Governments and probably from the influence of Austria. (3) The idea of Italica – Unity and Independence recognized by Europe. (4) A movement in Italy which, I think, will ripen into events. — Of course this is not the programme with which the war was commenced, but it is something gained. At what cost of treasure and blood? Ay, – there's the rub.

I am glad that my brother George has found a tongue with which to speak offensive truth. The abuse he has received will do him good. How much remains to be done! I do not agree with Seward who says the cause is won. If so, I should at once retire. Before me are fiercest battles, even at home in Boston. The Slave-driving sentiment is still uppermost there. I long for you there once more. A discourse from you on Mr Choate would have been another great sermon to the Nation, wherein they would have seen that brilliant and lovely qualities, would not cover treason to Humanity. Pray get well. God bless you! I heard of Lyman at Milan.

Ever yours
Charles Sumner.

P. S. I enclose a little paper by an American Doctor in Paris which he was anxious you should read. It is a theory on the origin and treatment

of disease of the lungs.
Of course best regards to the Apthorps and all your surroundings.

Paper of Dr Maynard alluded to by Mr Sumner

The blood is aerated in the lungs —
This aeration consists in the combustion by the Oxygen of the air of the carbonatious matter in the blood, which creates animal heat
This is one of the offices which air performs. —
In order to sustain animal heat, air must come in contact with the blood. So also in order that this vital process may go forward. the blood must contain carbonatious matter – and in proportion as there is less of this carbonatious matter in the blood, the lungs are affected, because at each inhalation a certain amount of Oxygen is taken into the lungs, which not finding the proper amount of carbon in the blood to form carbonic acid gas, and thereby create animal heat, it must and will consume the lung tissue itself.
To remedy this defect it is indicated to supply the proper amount of carbon to the blood in the easiest and quickest possible manner. Therefore it is that cod-liver-oil is given, which is rich in carbon and easily digested, it also containing a small proportion.

Sumner

of iodine, which aids in changing the condition of the lung. But this remedy requires to be digested before it can be brought by the blood to the lungs, to be there united with the oxygen of the air.

But Alcoholic preparations on the other hand require no digestive process in order to be brought by the blood to the lungs to unite with the oxygen of the air, as it is readily absorbed by the capillaries of the stomach, and thus brought into the circulation. Thus Alcohol containing a large amount of Carbon comes in contact with the Oxygen of the air in the lung, and there is converted into Carbonic acid gas, and watery vapor, and thus fulfils the conditions for the supply of animal heat and saves the affected lung from the irritation of the oxygen of the air: It also furnishes a general stimulus to the system, and thereby assists the process of nutrition, and thus assists the diseased lung in repairing itself.

In connection with these remedies, other remedies may be used. Of the necessity of moderate exercise and a mild climate, not too much can be said. But the fact may be referred to, that cold air contains more oxygen in a cubic foot than warm air and that cold diminishes the animal heat which must be reproduced at the expence of the energies of the system.

W. T. H. Paris 1859

Sumner

Bains Frascati.
au Havre –
22d August 1859

Dear Parker

Your letter cheered me by its good news of your health: but the cough must stop. Rest, good nourishment and a happy life will be your best medicines. Will not Rome be apt to try you by its cold? Of course it is infinite in resources – perhaps even too stimulating. It must be hard to renounce seeing Egyptian architecture and the long course of the Nile. If you can carry the Apthorps with you it will be next to a good climate. You are happy in friendship. This is indeed my only possession: but I sometimes think it is diminishing and becoming dismally less. Of course death helps this, but changes of heart and mind, do more.
You will mourn Horace Mann. He has done much. But I wish he had lived to enjoy the fruits of his noble toils. He never should have left Massachusetts. His last years would have been happier, and more influential had he stayed at home. His portrait ought to be in every public school of the State, and his statue in the State-House. The aesthetic developement of the people, in pictures and statues, he never appreciated: but these ought to do him honor for the impulse he has given to that civilization in which they will be sure to thrive at

last.

I have a tender feeling for Choate. For years he was my neighbor on Court Street, and I never had from him anything but kindness. The last time I saw him was in Winter Street. He asked me what my physicians in Europe said of my case — I repeated the opinion of Sir James Clarke and George C — "The voice of science itself" said he! "you will be mad not to follow it." — His best powers were given to his profession: but I ask myself what single forensic effort he has left, which will be remembered? Not one. Serrano's defence of the negro Freeman is worth for fame more than the whole forensic life of Choate. I heard Gladstone say lately in London, that it was the "finest forensic effort in the English language".

How beautifully things go move in Tuscany. Who says a people thus composed, amidst the grandest trials is not fit for Freedom. Who is fit for it I pray? The Americans with 4 millions of slaves, and with a heaven of slave-holding tyrants, and foreign immigrants who cannot speak our language! Why these more than the Italians full of genius invention, and all knowledge? Against the proletarianism of Italy, I put the slavery of our country, and hold that Italy is full as apt for free institutions as the United States. You doubt. I must borrow a phrase

from Charles Fox, addressed to Bonaparte, 1st consul — "clear your head of that nonsense". Of course I am for freedom every where. If I heard of a revolt in the Seraglio I should be for it.

Think of old Gino Capponi blind, led to the urn and voting for the Emancipation of his country. Well-done gallant veteran! It was his ancestor who went forth from Florence to meet Charles 8th of France, and when the King threatened if his terms were not accepted "to sound his trumpets", the ambassador of the Republic replied — "If you sound your trumpets, we will ring our bells". Three cheers for the bells of Florence! — May they ring, so as to be heard throughout Italy!

I have heard of you via Montpellier in terms of warmest admiration and regard. I am glad that you have seen my friends. — As I write now, from my window, I look out upon the sea in which I shall soon be swimming. My life is secluded. At 9 o'clock, I am a-bed. Here I stay through the first week of September. Let me hear from you again. Best regards to all your circle.

God bless you! Ever yrs

Charles Sumner.

I know not what you hear about me. I have no secrets. Is it what Howe wrote about? that I was engaged to a person with whom I have not spoken for years, and whose whereabouts is to me

unknown? A fabrication, pure and simple! —
Have you heard of the fall of I——? —
claiming les petites oies of a beautiful damsel at
the Public Library? —
Your printed letter has not reached me; but
I shall find it in London.

Should be on 252d page

Washington 14th Decr 1855

Dear Parker

Seward will be in Boston Wednesday morning — at the Tremont House — on his way to Plymouth. He wants to see you, and I want you to see him. Will you call on him? Why not accompany him to Plymouth, and pass the evening with him there? His address is already printed, so that he will be free for conversation on the evening before the 22d.

All things here indicate bad feelings. I have never seen so little intercourse and commingling among Senators of opposite opinions. Seward, Wilson and myself are the special marks of disfavor. God willing, something more shall be done to deserve this distinction!

I trust the Massachusetts delegation are becoming consolidated for Freedom. They see how small is Soi disant Americanism by the side of our

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cause.

Ever yrs

Charles Sumner.

P. S. Study that list of Committees, and learn the power of Slavery — first in grasping the places of power, and secondly in excluding from those places the special and obnoxious friends of Freedom. Here is a text for a speech.

Newman

From Francis W. Newman Esq - London Eng.

7 Park Village East
Regents Park London
April 22nd 1852

My dear Sir.

I have received two volumes of your Addresses, and am gratified to find my name written in them by your hand. I write to acknowledge them, that you may be sure on the other side of the Atlantic, that they have been safely delivered: and I may add, that I make no doubt I shall find much to reward the perusal. As yet I have only had time to get as far as the third, which is a subject of painful interest to me. Probably I should not find that we fundamentally differed, for your intention undoubtedly is to attack aggressive war only. But to my mind your arguments follow too closely the current Quakerism, which I am disposed to accuse of most hurtfully throwing dust into our eyes. The Quakers will never convince fathers and husbands, sons and brothers, that a being in human shape, but as deaf to reason, and justice and mercy as a tiger, who attacks those dearest to them, is not to be repelled by the same weapons as a wild beast. They cannot stupify us into the absurdity of abandoning to wicked men's violence those whom we are bound to defend. As long as aggressive war is wickedly made, defen-

sive war is a pious and holy duty; for which it is most right to offer prayers and thanks. (God forbid that we engage in anything which may not be thus sanctified!) Now I look to those ministers of religion, who, like you, are really free, to save us from the misery which the Quakers bring on us: viz. they cannot hinder war, but they hinder our discriminating right war from wrong war. They take the mind out of the pale of every Reformer who cries out to improve the military system, and the laws and practices of war: — Nay! say they: but annihilate it. And by quoting texts, they draw off so many to this side, that war becomes odiously immoral, and cruel beyond what it needs to be.

If you hold that we ought to let Louis Bonaparte walk across England unopposed, and deal with us as he is dealing with France, of course I should have no more to say to you than to a Quaker. But as I understand you in theory to approve of repelling an invader from our territories (though I am not sure whether you know that the Sikhs in 1845 invaded India in great force, unprovoked, and when we had no army for a great distance from the frontier) I would urge you to use your great power and position, to show how defensive (and rightful) war is apt to be made needlessly bloody, and to turn itself into wicked aggression, by the false principles of the received "Laws of Nations"; and how, by false claims of right, upright

statesman mistake aggression for defensive war. I think I see the following totally unjust claims:
1. to attack neutrals, in a blockade. (This in 1811. 1812 the United States justly resisted)
2. to attack merchant ships of an enemy:
3. to carry a war beyond its necessary geographical limits: (as if we were to bombard St. Petersburgh because Russian regiments invaded Hungary)
4. to avenge one's citizen, who has voluntarily gone into a foreign country, and finds the tribunals there unjust. (This caused our China, and now our Burmese war). I feel persuaded that if you would direct yourself to reform the laws of rightful war: you would do an endless service to America: and America re-acts on England. I am,

Yours in much esteem
Francis W. Newman.

Rev Theodore Parker.

7 Park Village East
Regents Park. London
July 8th 1852

My dear Sir,

I have again to thank you for the kind insertion of your oration or dirge of sorrow concerning the kidnapped slave. In order to encourage you to such kind acts by reciprocal example, I will try to get a two penny pamphlet conveyed to you.

(the postage would be twelve times its worth,) if the booksellers will condescend to such a thing. It is a lecture I delivered two months ago on the Duty of England to Europe.

Your oration gives me a vivid and painful sense of the arduous and anxious position into which all who are like you, are now forced, by the flagitious Fugitive Slave Bill. You are no longer contending solely for the amelioration of law, but for resistance to the execution of law, and violent resistance, even while unrepealed. This places your whole conduct on a narrow ridge between the extremes of virtue and of guilt. The most trifling error of judgement may turn heroism into a deadly crime. Your own noble conduct and sentiments excite my unfeigned respect and admiration: but I entreat you never to forget, that there may be hundreds who will imbibe your spirit without your wisdom and discernment, and by error in the application of your principles may be carried down a precipice. I have no doubt you do consider all these things. In so very complicated a position, I could not presume to think that I from this distance, see what you do not.

I am gratified by your distinct renunciations of the Quaker views of war: in fact, in this oration you are a Kossuth or a Mazzini.

My friend Pulszky while in the Northern States, appears to have been affected with the feeling, that

the Abolitionist zeal was not all pure, and I fear he was swayed by such as Webster towards that side: but since he has seen what slavery is in the South, he expresses a melancholy conviction of the retribution which must be suffered for upholding it.

Yet I think that Kossuth correctly judges, that his game is, not to interfere: wholly to ignore the slavery: to get all the aid he can from America to reinstate freedom in Europe; — fully believing that to restore European freedom is to give to American slavery its most fatal deathblow.

Webster attributes the reaction of the South towards slavery since 1831, to the indiscreet zeal of the Abolitionists. On reviewing the dates of certain transactions, I have been impressed with the belief that the rising hope of extending slavery and slave-breeding for Texas, is the real cause of this calamitous reaction.

I have read a great many of your miscellaneous discourses with much pleasure, but have not yet finished the book. My ordinary occupations you know are classical. I look for a Reform of the University of Oxford ere long. (public opinion is repenning,) after which we of London shall be well drained of all our pupils. It really needs some public spirit in us to desire this reform. The Oxford Report in our Parliamentary Blue Book, is quite splendid. Arthur Stanley, biographer of Dr Arnold, is the writer.

Believe me, Very Sincerely yours

Rev Theodore Parker. Francis W. Newman.

1 Park Village East,
Regents Park London
April 11th 1853.

My dear Sir,

I give way to the impulse of writing to thank you heartily for the volume of Plain Sermons, which you have lately given to the world. I read the last of them this morning with much satisfaction. No mysterious subject is one which I have always dreaded to deal with metaphysically, as I am conscious how weak I am in metaphysical erudition, and how liable to errors on such a subject every man is, who trusts his solitary perceptions. Your mode of treating it, fully provides a sphere for human activity. I have always shrunk from the statement that Inspiration is Genius (or is a result of Cerebral development, as somebody has said) because it ignores the moral efforts, and voluntary acts of man, which, though not every thing, are something in the matter.

I trust that the writing of such as you, may win over our hard philosophers to a more affectionate religion.

I forget whether I have actually finished every one of the discourses (chiefly political) which you were kind enough to send me some time back. I found it better not to read one too close upon another: and I have possibly reserved one or two. But I have most fully seen how important is your position, and your action on a community like that of the United States.

Newman

I almost think you overlook a real difficulty in the way of entrusting preachers in general with such latitude of discussion as you assume. Do you remember, that no one is allowed to reply to the preacher? To allow a reply, would change preaching into debate. Now debate is a useful thing in its place, but it serves a different end from preaching, viz. the sifting out intellectual error. But it cannot supersede the other function, of reenforcing and pressing upon the conscience acknowledged truths. It is upon the assumption that the things enforced are acknowledged truths, that the preacher is encouraged to be dogmatic, and reply to him is forbidden. But suppose a preacher, who, though fully furnished with general moral wisdom, is under special error concerning politics or political economy or other practical subjects, and who presuming upon his pulpit right, scolds his congregation as sinners for not doing, or for doing, what their conscience tells them deserves no reproof. They will feel this to be an abuse of neutral ground, or rather, a trespass on ground which is not his. We cannot get for a preacher a man of universal knowledge, and therefore we are unwilling to let him deal with those topics about which there is a serious difference of opinion among the unbiassed, and the well-informed. Such topics belong to the debating club or to the parliament, and not yet to the pulpit, except when a man of most unusual powers occupies it. Even then, I think he ought to abate the dogmatic

tone when he approaches such subjects.
On these grounds, I think it is not manliness in preachers to be strong on general principles, and timid or reserved in their applications, where facts and secondary knowledge comes in. I think much may be done to stir up the hearers by putting the case as a judge does to a jury, — "If you find the facts to be so and so, then ……!" "but if so and so then ……!" and all such abstaining from a dogmatic decision tends to call out active thought in the hearers, more than if the preacher pressed unshrinkingly his own conclusion. In all controversies of politics and economy, (not excluding the mode and time of entirely abolishing Slavery,) this would seem to me the most effective, as well as the most cautious form of proceeding.
Alas! in Europe things are as black as night. I see no hope of improvement without a bloody universal war, unless perchance all the Austrian armies go over in mass to the side of freedom. Nothing of this sort would surprise me: yet my fears are stronger than my hopes. Our government is so frightened about republicanism, that it will do all it dares to keep up a despotism, which it knows to be usurped, tyrannical and hateful to God and man.

Most heartily yours

Francis W. Newman

To Rev. Theodore Parker

My dear Sir I am rejoiced to hear that the legal impeachment of you by the slave-holding party has failed; though I know nothing of details.

I send this to you, that you may see what we are aiming at, viz. the organization of the Secularists to receive moral influences through their best men. Their leader, Mr G. J. Holyoake, is eager for it.

~~FOR PRIVATE COMMUNICATION ONLY.~~

No existing Government wholly fulfils the idea of a State, and no existing Theocracy the idea of a Church. State and Church are Ideals, to which we approximate.

The State is the organization of a nation's chief strength; the Church is the organization of its highest moral and spiritual wisdom.

The State enforces on the external man his definite duties; the Church exhorts the conscience of man to his indefinite duties.

The State enacts laws concerning conduct and rights; the Church utters principles concerning truth and righteousness.

When the chief strength of a nation is no longer in the organs of the State, the State is nigh to revolution: when the highest wisdom appropriate to the Church no longer acts through the Church-organs, but waits outside unorganized, the Church is virtually dissolved.

The Church (in its essence) is not a Congregation, though congregations may spring from it: nor is it a confederacy for some one practical end, though many practical projects be undertaken by it: nor does it suppress free thought, though it proclaim attained truth: nor does it become Political, though it give a new soul to Politics.

But the Church is essentially a union of persons professing a common faith, and aiming to extend the belief and practice of that faith.

In proportion to the depth and grandeur of the truth professed, and the intensity of faith, is the efficiency of the Church for good.

In our present diversities of judgment, it is nevertheless probable that many persons may be found willing to join an alliance, professing to be *a Church of Justice*, which has for its basis a profession substantially identical with the following.

PROFESSION.

I solemnly avow, that I regard Virtue as man's highest good, Justice as the cardinal virtue of human society, and Free Thought as essential to Justice and to the growth of Virtue: it is my fixed desire to uphold, and according to my opportunities, to enforce Justice to man, to woman, and to brute, to every Order of the nation, and to every Nation upon earth. I forswear all policy which disowns Justice; I will endeavour to raise the degraded classes of this nation; and I denounce Unchastity, both for other reasons, and especially as of deadly Injustice to Women.

M. N.

Actuated by some such thoughts as are above expressed, the Undersigned persons have set their names to the following Primary Doctrines, not as a creed to bind others, but as a testimony, preliminary to the attempt of forming *a Church of Justice*.

DECLARATION.

The mind of man is finite, but Nature and Truth are infinite; hence our knowledge is always imperfect: yet out of continuous thought some true knowledge at length springs.

The thoughts which we have inherited make us in many things wiser than our fathers; and the better we do our duty, the more likely are our children to become wiser than we.

True and healthy Science is ever growing; but unsound Science cannot grow and needs destruction.

The Universe and the Infinite are incomprehensible, but not inscrutable: man's mind is adapted to the study of them.

I find the mass of truth floating through society, believed by all or at least admitted when stated, yet authoritatively uttered nowhere, is immense; enough to make another New Testament. There is abundant material for the faith of a Universal Church. I now see that this will certainly be. It may fail under us, but it will be taken up & succeed under another. Of this I have a firm faith.

Truth is congenial to man. Moral truth is then most consummate, when, like Beauty, it commends itself without argument.

Of the vast Whole we catch but partial and faint glimpses; yet these are to us the dawnings of higher life.

Reverently to meditate on things far beyond us, on Power unlimited, on Space unfathomed, on Time uncounted, on *Whence* we came and *Whither* we go; and hence to learn that man lives and moves in Mystery;—conduces to moral health: but when speculation is fettered by authority, the benefit of the meditation is impaired.

To bind our brethren to our own definitions and expositions of an incomprehensible God, is presumptuous; to refuse to them moral fellowship because *they* doubt, where *we* believe, in questions which transcend practical test,—is Unjust and pernicious.

There is no higher idea of God than Righteousness and Perfection: to follow these is Virtue and Spirituality, and is the only reasonable way of serving God.

Devotion to an Ideal, is Worship. Heartworship, not headworship, makes a man's religion.

Devotion to a high Ideal, is elevating; devotion to a low Ideal, is debasing.

By devotion to our highest Ideal, we expand our powers to embrace what is higher. By devotion to Self, we quench all Idealism, and become the basest of heathens.

The generous passions of the soul are adapted to conquer the baser.

Every generous passion aids to purify the whole soul, and adds strength to other generous passions. Hence there is a natural alliance on the one side between the generous passions, and on the other between the baser; and human character is apt to gravitate, where it does not aspire.

The intenser the noble passions, the greater is the character.

The intenser the noble passions, and the wider the reach of knowledge, the grander is the ideal of righteousness and perfection, to which the mind may aspire: the loftier therefore is the virtue likely to become.

Prudence is necessary for sustaining man's individuality and for perseverance in ~~his enterprises~~ Virtue & Self. Prudence performs like services to Virtue, as the body to the spirit; yet a character which were nothing but prudent, would not be virtuous.

Prudence aims directly to manage the circumstances of the individual: but Virtue, not Pleasure, Ease or other circumstantial well-being, is the chief good of man.

The Virtuous man aims at Virtue as his end, and not at the pleasure of being virtuous.

The Virtue of each is the Expediency of all.

Between man and man, or between man and brute, Justice is Righteousness, and is Public Expediency.

Without entire Virtue, there is no entireness of Justice: for all Vice disables soul or body for some active service.

Justice is the law of duty between Nations and Orders of men, equally as between individuals.

Justice is the cement of mankind: a nation which has forgotten to be Just, and affects to establish the Expedient, falls asunder by Selfishness.

Mercy is Justice toward the unfortunate, and Punishment is Justice toward the guilty: Kindliness is Justice toward all.

In so far as Love is a debt of Justice, Love may become a reality: Universal Love is a mere name, except for one who has an infinite heart.

Love without Justice is an affectation of Mercy and a reality of Insult.

Without Chastity in man, there is no Justice to woman.

There is no Just Rule but the Rule of Justice. Obedience to Just Rule is ennobling: all other obedience is prudential only, and is apt to degrade.

Freedom consists in being subject to Just Rule and to none other.

If this attempt becomes a reality (for it is still only on paper, May 21st 1855) I see the work of my life before me; for I shall then believe that this will be the nucleus of a Universal Church. But I shall also then expect as a first result, the splitting of the Scarlatists into the true men, and those who love lawlessness & licentiousness. It will be

Freedom to be virtuous is an unalienable right of man.

To forbid Knowledge is to forbid Wisdom and to repress Virtue.

There is no Right without Duty, nor Duty without Right. There is no Power without Duty, nor Duty without Power. Every moral nature lives and breathes in Duty.

Property and Leisure are high powers, and, as such, have high duties; which are not the less real, for being undeterminate.

Degraded classes in a nation taint the moral atmosphere of the other classes.

To aid the Weak, is the duty of the Strong: to strengthen the unjust, is to injure the Just.

Policy which shuts its eyes to Justice, is pernicious iniquity.

All unjust Power is destined for overthrow; because man is born for Righteousness.

PROTEST.

Although it is a function of the Church to give utterance to broad practical truth, it does not belong to her to dictate concerning matters of doubtful disputation, or to assume authority over her members, other than every voluntary society has and ought to have.

The Church ought never to aim at controlling Science, which, as developed by genius, is rather her mistress than her pupil.

The topics of Politics, in so far as they are Moral, are of deep and pressing interest to the Church; yet the Church cannot allow her organs to enter direct political struggles, without forfeiting her proper character and failing of her mission.

The Church must study to promote right and righteousness; but must be unconcerned *who* has the doing of right, so that only right be done.

Wealth and Power cannot be put at the disposal of the Church, without imminent danger of making her the spoil of the mercenary and ambitious.

The Church in no case has the right to command money of her members, although it may be freely asked, as well as received, for specific, legitimate, and present purposes.

[*Signed*] A.
B.
C.
D. &c.

here also a battle, as every where else.

I less and less believe in the possibility of public Prayer, as an ordinary

Dear

I beg to inquire, whether you would be willing to give your name to the public as assenting to the above Declaration and Protest? or if only with some partial modifications, then with what modifications?

I am,

Yours truly,

[Signed]

common exercise. I think it is wanted in families, to teach & train the young soul to aspiration & purity; but in public it becomes a form, if previously printed, & if not, it is hard or impossible for the audience to go along with the minister. Now if this be true of Theists (as I think it is), the very fact lessens the difficulty of common institutions to embrace those who have not yet enough of Reason to utter real prayer. I am Very sincerely yours Francis W Newman

JUL
PAID
24
Rev Theodore Parker
Boston
Massachusetts

Newman

7 Park Village East
London N. W
May 23d 1857

My dear Sir,

I have for some time had an earnest desire to write to you, — about nothing in particular! At last I think it better to yield to my desire, especially since my heart tells me, it is founded on a most sincere esteem and on an intense sympathy with the great matters at stake in America, where a few hundreds of men appear to have the providential function of working out problems which are to affect hundreds of Millions for better or worse. Nothing more surprizes me than that the powers of evil should everywhere choose such headlong courses, which not only justify but necessitate extremes against them. The demoralization of the political world, old and new, sometimes stirs in me a gloomy alarm, that until we get a new religion believed, things will not greatly mend. I confess that on reading the decision of your Supreme Court in the matter of Dred. I for the first time thought they had put the Abolitionists in the right, — I mean, those who would abolish the Union. My present comfort is, that such decisions must terrify the Free States, and give another chance to the Republican Party of carrying the next Presidential Election. More abstractedly, I think "Satan is aware his time is short", hence his fury. With you, the force of

new States grows so fast, that to predict for a few years onward is hard: but the progress of Temperance is highly encouraging. The conduct of the Governments of all the great Powers of the world testifies to common Atheism. These Peas. Chinese affairs are the most afflicting, because our nation appears to have aroused the condemnation past on Palmerston by the late Parliament. Yet I am persuaded it is not decided on that issue. Cobden. Bright, Gibson, were despised for their conduct in the Russian war, and the nation will not have them, nor yet a Tory ministry. Palmerston is the alternative. But what afflicts me, is, that in judging of foreign affairs, there is no tribunal to discuss the Just and the Unjust. If for a moment such a topic comes up in Parliament, it is scouted as irrelevant, and the Expedient held up as alone to be considered. Once in my life time a vote has been carried on the question of Justice, the late China vote. The prime minister has defied it in the rudest way: Parliament meets: the Queens speech makes no allusion to that vote, — and no whisper is heard further on the subject. The false morality of Expediency seems to have poisoned all our public men, as much as those of South Carolina or Austria. Yet I believe a great improvement is silently going on in our population. The change in 20 years has been striking. The Chartists are comparatively educated, reasonable people: and at the

Newman

late election Tories, Whigs and Radicals alike professed to approve of enlarging the basis of Parliament: — a proof that all perceive the flow of public feeling to be in that direction. If once the working many had leisure enough for education, their morality would be nobler than that of the rich. Your country if it sticks to its temperance laws, will revolutionize us also: for I am persuaded that whatever our great Brewers or our Chancellors of the Exchequer wish, laws which succeed with you will be carried and enforced, first in Canada, New Brunswick &c &c - also in Australia, the Cape &c — — after which they will inevitably find their way hither. I cannot agree with the physiological generalizations of the enthusiastic Maine Law advocates among us, yet their practical case is so powerful, that I am every day sensibly becoming more and more vehement on their side. Indeed the facts of past legislation developed by Dr F. Lees in his prize essay were quite new to me, (as I think they will be to most of us) and I expect before long a powerful result from them. If the clergy of the Church do not take the matter up, (which would soon settle it,) the Dissenters will gain a new moral advantage over them by carrying it a little later. I find my friend Mr Francis Pulszky, a calm and unprejudiced by slander, says that the onward movement of the millions in England towards better knowledge and sounder judgement is steady and even rapid:

and the growth of what is vaguely called Ecclesiasticism, irresistible. The Colonies react upon our mercantile and middle classes in many ways. Besides our recent change of the Laws of Partnership, though insufficient for justice to the poor, is a great boon, and will abate the extravagant prerogatives previously enjoyed by the very rich. At present "Jehovah has waxed fat and kicked"; and it may be, that nothing short of severe disasters in China will sober our Statesmen: disasters, which do not seem to me at all so improbable as I find all my acquaintances think. But assuredly, our material prospects are better by far than ever, if only we have virtue to balance us. On the whole, my hopes are buoyant: though my heart prays for our people. Oh Lord, <u>correct us</u>, but <u>with judgement</u>: not in thy anger, &c.... We certainly <u>want</u> a new religion: but we are more than ever in the way to get one: for, in spite of bigotry, (which, some will tell us, is worse than ever,) never yet in England has a serious and earnest hearted unbeliever less to encounter of contempt or spite: never yet were ears so open. Of course you have seen Miss Cobbe's new volume, which has delighted me, and beneficially stimulated me. She seems to me to have a true prophetical temperament, adapted to these days. I cannot follow her Kantism, but that matters not: she is a noble teacher, and the more I read and meditate, the more I love her. I am sure you are full of manifold exertions —

Newman

May God bless you and them, and all your nation, via indivisible brethren - I am ever yours heartily

J. W. Newman

To Rev Theodore Parker.

7 Park Village East
London N. W.
March 20. 1858.

My dear Mr Parker

I find that you have acknowledged my "Theism" to Chapman. The people, whom I requested to send you a copy, seem to have neglected to say that it came from me. I ought to have written on it with my own hand.

It is Miss Cobbe who pressed me to write it, and indeed I was fired by her noble book on Religious Duty. I previously believed I had written myself out. I tell her, I have used many things in her book, and had not her spirit animated me. I do not know that I could have written so fearlessly on Immortality. I have long laboured under an incurable suspicion, that people have none but traditional reasons for their faith on this topic: their reasons are apt to seem so lame to me; or their alleged conviction so to exceed the cogency of arguments not bad in themselves. When I read her first volume, I did not know her mental history. Now that I know, that,

together with Christian foundations, she for many years utterly renounced all expectation of a future life, and has come to it anew by a pure development out of spiritual thought, her faith affects me very differently. When I ask myself — why I am able to be so dogmatic, so tranquilly certain, as to God and his attributes, while concerning man's futurity, I dare only to speak vaguely, and with reserve, — I find two reasons: 1. because the belief in Superior Mind is clearly the conviction of the human race, while (with Theodore Parker) I do not find such universal agreement concerning Immortality, and what seems to be of agreement is generally based on delusions which are contingent to man's infancy: 2. because the arguments which may seem to prove Immortality are more complex and thereby more open to error than those which prove a God.

Thus the long and short is, I do not want arguments: I want more confidence in the soundness of my own powers of arguing. This increases peculiarly by seeing that others, unbiased by tradition, approve the arguments, and arrive at the same result. Hence I hope, that in another generation, when Free Thought has become more general, and a greater mass of persons have weighed and have ratified such considerations, people not otherwise superior to me may get out of the very same trains of thought, a more certain assurance than I am able habitually to

Newman

maintain.

Last summer Miss Cobbe allowed me to see a letter of yours concerning the state of your health. I earnestly hope you are much re-established. She, no doubt, has told you how much love your kind friends have won from her in Italy and in Egypt.
I am glad you approve the article on the Weakness of Protestantism in the last Westminster. It is from my pen. Chapman was very bold to ask for it from me. As it cost him some lapses, I have given him two articles for the April No. one of which he does not dare to adopt, but puts in to the "Independent Section". They are entitled Party Government and Indian Princes, and I wish you to know they are my writing. I have no other "Politics" (nor probably have you) than the doctrine that Public dealings must be as just and pure as Private, and that such institutions shall be set up as tend to secure this. Pray believe I always have a deep interest in you and your work. I am

Most sincerely yours

S. D. Newman

To Rev. Theodore Parker.

From W. Whewell Cambridge England.

Trinity College, Cambridge, August 29. 1855

My dear Sir.

I have several times by your kindness received discourses of yours and have always been much interested in them, though I fear I have been slow in acknowledging my obligation. A new gift of yours which I find on my table on returning into College calls anew for my thanks: and I the more willingly take the occasion to express them in consequence of the great struggle in which you are engaged against Slavery, and in which I am desirous of saying how entirely my heart is with you. I have always admired the earnestness with which you have contended against the extension of that direct curse to your noble country: I am thankful that you at least are true to the cause of justice and humanity, among the many dreadful and awful examples of men whom I abhorred who have deserted that great cause: and I reverence the spirit with which you still cling to what remains of hope for liberty and mercy in this dark day of cruelty and oppression. I cannot describe to you the dismay with which I have been smitten at the course which so many, I fear the majority of your country men have recently taken upon this subject - I had looked to

Wheeler

America as the hopeful point of the moral world: — having started from a higher level of social and political virtue, than we or any old country did. I hoped she might go forward and continue to be our leader: quite willing that, for that purpose she should be our superior. But alas! it seems that your most eloquent and gifted men employ their eloquence and their gifts in repudiating any such office: in disclaiming the "Higher Law" to which such an office appeals. I was much shocked at the line taken by Mr Webster: — not so much at the degradation of his character of which I did not think highly: but that so a line should be likely to be good policy for him: and whether or not acceptable in that way should still carry the majority of your exponents of public opinion with him. I am still more disturbed to find Dr Dewey running the same downhill course: for I had found in his sermons, as I thought, the most deep and earnest rebuke of the love of money, which is any where to be found. With such a state of opinion among you as I collect from your speeches, which you have now sent me, my first impulse, is to cry out in despair "Where is hope of the world"? and as I have said, I reverence you that even in this dark night you do not despair of the dawning. Nor even I too do not let go the conviction that by persevering in a good cause, good must come. I will not willingly believe that your countrymen — men with such recollections as you appeal to in your Discourse

can retain as the settled conviction of a people, that maxim which none but a few shameless faced on-hangers ever ventured to before, that "There is no Higher Law".

It is hardly worth while to write to you to say this; which among persons who have any care for Justice or Humanity, for Truth or for God's will must seem to be something to be taken for granted. But it may at least serve to mark my acknowledgement of your kindness. — I think I understood from some American friends that the proceedings against you had been abandoned. I am, my dear Sir,

Your faithful well wisher

W. Wherrell.

Robertson

From Peter Robertson Esq - Stonehaven Scotland

Stonehaven near Aberdeen.
Scotland
10th March. 1849.

Much Respected Sir.

Permit me to offer you my sincerest thanks for the great benefit I have derived from reading your very valuable writings — From all your works I have received much useful information; but especially from your "Discourse of Religion" — By a process of philosophical analyses truly admirable you have shown me what religion really is — Such rational and satisfying views, are the soul's truest wealth, but O, how difficult they are to find — For my part I never was pleased with theology, untill I read your Discourse of Religion — Our religious wants are the most important of all, but O, how poorly are they supplied. True indeed there are no lack of pastors who offer us the true bread, but when we get it, it turns out to be a stone — husks instead of the bread of life — Surely such a state of things is truly lamentable, but people will not come to the fountains of truth that they may be fed and live —

When Channing left us, I was truly sorry, thinking we would never, at least for many a long

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Robertson

year, see his like again, but I rejoice to think that a greater than Channing is above yet —
Believe me Sir, I say not this in flattery, but in the sincerity of my heart.
I have in my possession your Miscellaneous Writings, and am in the way of getting the Massachusetts Quarterly from which I have received great benefit — Could I presume to ask you to write me a few lines informing me whether or not you have any other works which have not reached this country yet — I wish you would publish a volume of your discourses delivered in your church, or another volume of discourses "on matters pertaining to religion" — A treatise on the philosophical nature of prayer, would be a great acquisition to theology from such a pen as yours.
In conclusion I again beg to thank you for the great benefit I have received from your books, and wish my best wishes that you may be long spared to send forth to the world your invaluable thoughts, which will be as seed sown in your own and other lands, and from which many will reap an abundant harvest, I am.

Sir.

With the greatest Respect and esteem
— your obliged and grateful friend
Peter Robertson.

Draper

To Theodore Parker Esq.
Boston. America

Robertson

Since finishing my letter, it has occurred to me to say that Joseph Parker, and G. Brown of Bankand Castle did you, or I should perhaps say, did the world good service, by publishing some of your writings in a cheap form — Such as, The Idea of a Christian Church, — a lesson for the Day — The transient and permanent in Christianity &c" — I had seen quotations from your Idea of a Christian Church, which pleased me so much that I was about to offer Mr Parker 5/- for a copy — But I happened to hear that a Mr Kerr, Bookseller Edinburgh had them, I immediately ordered a few of them — Mr Parker himself extols it for its ennobling thoughts and stirring truths, and says it has done much good, although he was not an Anti-supernaturalist — I know very well he was not one at that time, but I am almost sure he is one now. —
On reading your letter to the Boston Association, I was sorry to find they had treated you so harshly — Well may they be ashamed of such conduct. I however drew a lesson of comfort from it, having suffered similar treatment from my own priest.
I will feel exceedingly obliged if you could find time to write me again, giving me your advice, and answering some of these inquiries —
Please excuse whatever appears impertinent in

them, and if in my remarks on your own writings, I appear to have made too free a use of adulatory language, I hope you will excuse this also, for I can assure you my Dear Sir, I have not used one word of flattery, but have spoken the words of truth and sincerity.

I conclude by again thanking you for your valuable letter and for the highly important truths it contains, and also for the sermons you sent me —

Expecting to hear from you at your earliest convenience, I remain my Dear Sir,

Faithfully Yours
Peter Robertson.

The Revd Theodore Parker
Boston, America.

Stoneham near Aberdeen
Scotland
July 26th 1849.

Revd & very Dear Sir,

I received your kind letter on the 31st of May, and your parcel of books on the 10th June, for both of which I am greatly obliged. I have tried to find language to express "the height and the depth the length and the breadth" of my gratitude, but in vain. All I can say is, that I prize them above all price — Your letter, apart

from its valuable contents, is exceedingly precious to me — I am proud that one so eminent in the world of literature, should have taken notice of one so obscure — I confess I was diffident to write you, lest you should have considered it impertinent, and therefore had treated me with indifference — Judge then my astonishment and delight, when to a friendly and affectionate letter, you added a parcel of books — I have read them all once, and some of them thrice over, and have found them "a feast of fat things" nourishment for the mind, heart and soul — your writings, being the natural food of these faculties. I no more tire reading, day after day, than I would tire looking at "the pomp of groves, and garniture of fields". For such books I cannot be too thankful — They have made the world more lovely, and me more fitted to live in it — They have made Religion more attractive and a divine life more beautiful.

When I look back over 9 or 10 years of my life, I cannot but feel amazed and delighted at the happy change which has taken place in my religious views — In 1840 I was a gloomy Calvinist a member of the Church of Scotland, and was what is called an orthodox and pious young man — if 30 years old can be called young — In 1841 I met with a copy of Channing's works which truly delighted me. A new light, as it were

from heaven, broke out in my mind, which gradually dissipated many a cloud of ignorance and error — My educational prepossessions drove fast away, and I soon became a thorough going Unitarian — I was not careful, because I did not consider it necessary to conceal my changed theological opinions from my relatives and acquaintances, and being a little enthusiastic, I often engaged in a war of texts with them, never imagining at that time, that our texts themselves could be wrong. Consequently my heretical views soon became generally known, so that on my devoted head was poured all the vials of theological odium — So much opposition created in me a fear lest I had all along been deceiving myself. I therefore to do justice to my old views, resolved to lay open my mind to my minister — I told him that Channing's works had produced a great change in my mind — I said, his arguments are by far too powerful for me, but if he could help me to disprove them, I would immediately give them up, but if not I would abide by Channing, as it was truth I was in pursuit of, not the support of a sect. All he could do was to denounce us both as self-deluded sinners, heirs of hell, and on whom the door of the kingdom of heaven was shut forever! I was then solemnly excommunicated, and told that ruin in business, and ruin in soul and body for-

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Robertson

ever would be my doom and portion — But having the approval of Reason, Conscience and the Religious sentiment "none of these things moved me." I had the consolation of thinking that I had only lost a field which was overgrown with noxious breeds. but had found a kingdom, — even the kingdom of heaven ——

In 1844 I happened to see some quotations from your eloquent discourse on Religion which induced me to order it from Chapman. London — I received it on the 20th August of that year, and never shall I forget the pleasure it afforded me — It opened up a new world of thought to me, infinitely more valuable than all the gold of California —

To Channing I owe much, but to you much more — you have carried me back to first principles in religion, by placing it, not on tradition, church or book, but on the rock of human nature — I am unspeakably indebted to you for light on such subjects as Inspiration. Miracles. Deity of Christ. the Messianic prophecies &c &c —

Would it be impertinent in me to ask your opinion of the nature and philosophy of prayer? One writer in this country says that thanksgiving only, is acceptable to God, and that petitioning God for anything is superfluous, seeing that he knows all our wants. Parker again does not approve of public social prayer — I see in your

works, that you do not consider it proper to ask pardon of our sins — At first this startled me a little, but I soon see its truth — Would you advise me to hold family, or only individual worship?
Please excuse this liberty —
When you publish the volume you allude to in my letter, please either send it along with any thing else you think would be useful to me, or let me know, and I shall remit the money for it and the parcel of sermons you so obligingly sent me, and if there is any thing connected with your own congregation, such as building a church, for which you require subscriptions, please let me know, and I shall gladly send a donation — With best wishes, I am Dear Sir,

your much obliged and grateful friend,
Peter Robertson.

Near Aberdeen
Stonehaven 28th July 1855.

Revd and very Dear Sir,

I had almost forgotten that I still owe you for the parcel of pamphlets you kindly sent me some years ago — Please let me know the price, and I will with much pleasure remit you the amount — Could I

trouble you to mention if you have any recently published works, which have not yet reached this country, as I would give an order for them through Mr Chapman of London —
I still continue to admire your books as much as ever — Your unrivalled views have been a source of unspeakable pleasure to me. I beg most sincerely to thank you for your last letter — It was in answer to some enquiries I made regarding the nature of prayer, and it satisfied and pleased me exceedingly —
Here there are about half a dozen of us great admirers of your books. On taking a walk of a Sunday afternoon, we have always some of your books, favorite passages of which are selected as topics for conversation, as we walk along or sit down — I may mention that your Discourse of Religion is now after a good deal of opposition, voted into a public library here, where it will doubtless do its good work —
You are likely aware that one of your truest friends and noblest allies in Scotland, is the Revd Mr Crosskey of Glasgow — A young man lately in my shop, and now there, tells me that his chief-est pleasure on Sunday, is to hear him preach — By the by, this young man intends going next Spring to your City, Boston, in quest of a situation. If you could use your influence in assisting

him to find one. It would greatly oblige. Please excuse this liberty.

If there is any Magazine or periodical connected with your church, and expressing your views, could I trouble you to let me know. I would give an order for it — Perhaps you could not favor me by sending a small portrait of yourself, cut from any of your books, if there are any such — I am aware that your time is too precious to be taken up, with answering my letter, but you will please excuse me.

If you write please inform me if I shall send your money by Mr Chapman of London, or through any other channel of conveyance.

With best wishes, I am my Dear Sir.

Yours Sincerely and Gratefully
Peter Robertson
Draper.

To Revd Theodore Parker
Boston.

Robertson

Scotland
Stonehaven 27 June 1856

Mr Parker,

My dear Sir — I beg to thank you for the parcel of books you kindly sent me some 4 or 5 years ago. I intended to pay you for them, but as you seem to have given them as a present, I cannot help expressing my gratitude for them ——

One of my greatest wishes is to get to Boston to see and hear you, and pahaps I may some day obtain my wish.

With sincerest good wishes for your success to your good and great work,

I am my dear Sir
Your Sincere Friend.
Peter Robertson
Draper.

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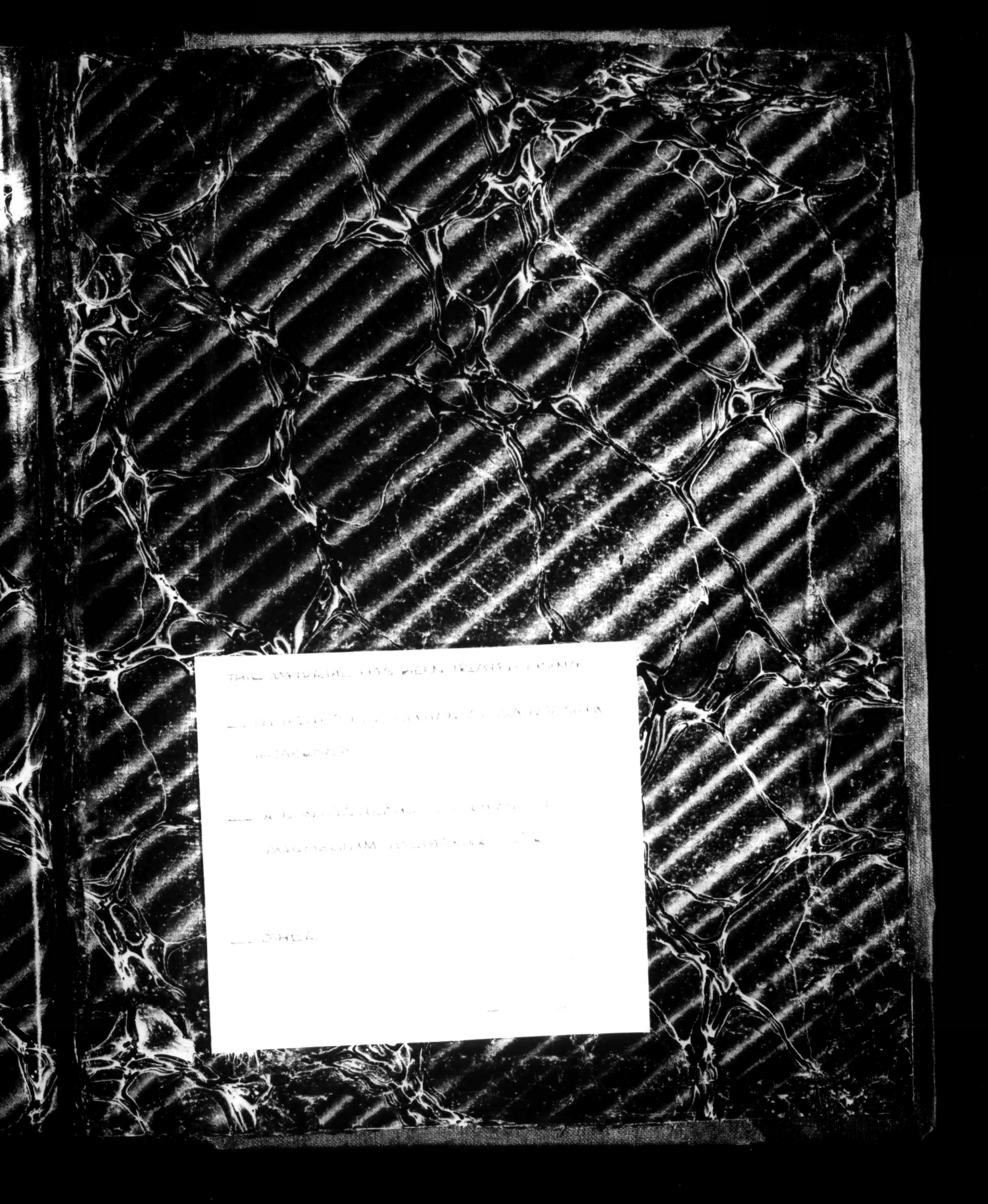
With sincerest good wishes for your success to your good and great Work,

I am my dear Sir
Your Sincere Friend.
Peter Robertson
Draper.